

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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September, 1950

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# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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## L'IDEOLOGIE REVOLUTIONNAIRE ET L'ESPAGNE

Par ALPHONSE ROCHE

Il arrive souvent qu'en Espagne on qualifie de révolutionnaire toute influence venue de France, quel qu'en soit le caractère, ou qu'inversement, on appelle française toute idée libérale, quelle qu'en soit l'origine. Cela complique singulièrement la tâche lorsqu'il s'agit d'évaluer l'influence de l'idéologie révolutionnaire sur le développement de la pensée espagnole.

L'histoire de l'influence française dans la péninsule est bien connue en ce qui concerne le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle fut à l'origine de la lutte entre l'esprit moderne, celui de la Révolution, et l'esprit clérical et traditionaliste. Aussi est-il naturel que nombre de penseurs et d'historiens catholiques n'hésitent point à la condamner dans son ensemble.<sup>1</sup> Certains voudraient même la rendre responsable de la décadence de l'Espagne. A ceux-là, le célèbre historien Rafael Altamira y Crevea rappelle que cette décadence s'était déjà manifestée en un temps où il n'était pas encore question de "rationalisme" ou d'"encyclopédisme".<sup>2</sup>

Ceux qui persistent à voir l'œuvre du diable dans les réformes faites au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sous la monarchie des Bourbons accusent ces derniers d'avoir continué et accéléré l'œuvre de "dénationalisation," selon leur expression, qui avait été commencée par la maison d'Autriche. C'est surtout à ce changement de dynastie que Menéndez y Pelayo attribue le triomphe du régéralisme, du jansénisme, des sociétés secrètes et de l'encyclopédisme.<sup>3</sup>

En effet, le régéralisme, soit en d'autres termes l'intervention du pouvoir royal en matière ecclésiastique, ne s'était jamais affirmé comme au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les concordats de 1737 et de 1754 rendirent l'église espagnole de plus en plus indépendante du Saint-Siège, et l'Inquisition elle-même, devenue un "simple instrument de police,"<sup>4</sup> passa des mains de l'Eglise à celle des ministres, du pouvoir civil. Il est également vrai que le jansénisme était "très répandu dans la péninsule"<sup>5</sup> et qu'il fut en partie responsable de la suppression des Jésuites,<sup>6</sup> mesure qui fut "profondément impopulaire." Quant aux

<sup>1</sup> "... la influencia francesa ha sido casi siempre una calamidad para la España..." écrit Jaime Balme. *Obras completas: Escritos políticos* (Barcelona, 1926), X, 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Psicología del pueblo español* (Madrid, 1902), p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid, 1911-1918), I, 37.

<sup>4</sup> G. Desdévères du Désert, *L'Espagne de l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1897-1904), I, xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (Barcelona, 1914), IV, 221. Cf.: "El jansenismo va penetrando hasta en el Tribunal (*celui de l'Inquisition*).", Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Síntesis de historia de España* (Barcelona, 1936), p. 440.

<sup>6</sup> Alors que Ballesteros l'explique en partie par la "conspiration de jansenistas, filósofos, Parlamentos, universidades, cesaristas y profesores laicos" (*ibid.*, p. 399), D. Vicente de la Fuente y voit surtout l'action des loges: "Ya la franc-

sociétés secrètes, il est certain qu'elles jouèrent un rôle important dans la diffusion de l'esprit philosophique et encyclopédique. Celles qui furent fondées vers la fin du siècle étaient, paraît-il, "moins innocentes que la franc-maçonnerie primitive" en matière de politique.<sup>8</sup> On ne sait rien de précis sur les origines de la franc-maçonnerie espagnole, mais c'est un fait acquis qu'elle se développa très rapidement dans la deuxième partie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>9</sup>

Le "despotisme lettré" des Bourbons avait créé non seulement des académies (l'Académie Espagnole en 1713) et des sociétés scientifiques, mais aussi des sociétés économiques qui introduisirent de nouvelles méthodes de culture et travaillèrent à l'amélioration de l'industrie. C'était un louable effort pour relever le pays "de l'état de prostration où il se trouvait," nous dit l'historien Rafael Ballester; il s'agissait de le régénérer et de le civiliser, de "mettre enfin l'Espagne au rang des puissances les plus avancées."<sup>10</sup> Campomanès, Florida-Blanca, Jovellanos et d'autres grands hommes d'Etat encouragèrent ces sociétés économiques auxquelles finirent par s'intéresser des gens de toutes les classes, même les dames du grand monde.<sup>11</sup> Cependant le peuple s'opposait en général aux réformes. Il n'avait même d'opposition "que pour les réformes,"<sup>12</sup> écrit Albert Sorel.

En Espagne comme dans les autres pays, ce fut chez les élites que se répandirent d'abord les nouvelles idées. Non seulement des hommes d'Etat, mais aussi nombre de nobles "éclairés" correspondaient avec les grands esprits français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: le duc d'Albe avec Rousseau, le marquis de Miranda avec Voltaire, le comte de Toreno avec les encyclopédistes. Beaucoup d'Espagnols s'abonnèrent à l'*Encyclopédie*, qu'on avait commencé à traduire. Les principales œuvres d'auteurs étrangers—français, anglais, italiens—d'esprit libéral ou révolutionnaire se trouvaient dans maintes bibliothèques privées et dans celles de certaines sociétés comme la Société des Amis du Pays.<sup>13</sup> Notons encore qu'il était alors de mode, chez les

masonería española confiesa que la expulsión de los jesuitas fué obra suya." *Historia de las sociedades secretas antiguas y modernas en España y especialmente de la francmasonería* (Lugo, 1871-1874), I, 81.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1908), I, 378.

<sup>9</sup> Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> La première loge aurait été installée par les Anglais en 1728 (Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth* [Cambridge, England, 1943], p. 206); d'autres le furent plus tard par les Français et l'on en comptait près d'une centaine au temps de la Révolution française.

<sup>11</sup> Rafael Ballester, *Historia de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1928), pp. 250-51.

<sup>12</sup> Voir à ce sujet la très intéressante étude d'Alexandre Tratchevsky, "L'Espagne à l'époque de la Révolution française," *Revue Historique*, XXXI (1886), 4.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 378.

<sup>14</sup> Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, IV, 148. Cf.: "Casi todos los españoles de algún viso en el siglo XVIII y principios del XIX son discípulos de los filósofos franceses, sobre todo de Voltaire y de Rousseau, principales entre los suyos . . . la gran masa del pueblo fué la que quedó sin contaminarse entonces." Cándido Nocedad, *Biblioteca de autores españoles desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días*, Vol. 50 (Madrid, 1896), pp. xv-xvi.

grands, d'envoyer les enfants faire ou terminer leurs études en France et qu'on avait autorisé des maîtres étrangers à venir professer en Espagne; qu'il existait, vers 1776, des institutions comme le Real Seminario de Vergara où l'enseignement était en grande partie encyclopédique et révolutionnaire; qu'on avait ouvert une bibliothèque française à l'université de Salamanque, que des groupes s'y étaient formés pour l'étude du droit naturel et du droit des peuples, et que paraissaient alors divers périodiques à tendance encyclopédiste.

C'est dans ce milieu, sous ces influences, que grandirent et se formèrent quelques-uns des jeunes gens qui devaient légiférer à Cadix et y élaborer la fameuse Constitution de 1812. Aussi Menéndez y Pelayo trouve-t-il que la Révolution, "en ce qu'elle avait d'impie, était déjà consommée en Espagne, non seulement initiée mais faite, avant qu'y eussent sonné les noms de Libéralisme et de Révolution." Et il ajoute que le plus regrettable ("lo más digno de llorarse") fut qu'une partie de l'Épiscopat et du clergé se laissa contaminer par la "lèpre française" et bêtement acheminer vers le suicide.<sup>14</sup>

Jusqu'à quel point cet esprit libéral et réformateur, "corrupteur" du point de vue traditionaliste, dérivait-il d'un vif sentiment des réalités et jusqu'à quel point faut-il y voir simplement une influence livresque, est à peu près impossible à déterminer. Nous le trouvons en tout cas dans diverses œuvres de l'époque parmi lesquelles il faudrait citer les rapports et comptes rendus des ministres, en premier lieu ceux du Comte de Floridablanca.<sup>15</sup> Il faudrait considérer aussi une partie de l'œuvre de Jovellanos, entre autres son fameux *Informe de la Sociedad Económica de Madrid al Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla en el expediente de ley agraria*. . . .<sup>16</sup> Libéral et anticlérical, quoique monarchiste et très catholique, Jovellanos croyait au progrès de l'homme et avait pleine confiance dans la culture intellectuelle et l'amélioration de l'individu. Il fut un des premiers de son temps à réfléchir et à écrire sur les causes de la décadence de l'Espagne.

Mais le grand défenseur de la doctrine révolutionnaire fut incontestablement François Cabarrus, le célèbre directeur de la banque Saint-Charles. Dans une série de lettres adressées à son ami Jovellanos, *Cartas sobre los obstáculos que la naturaleza, la opinión y las*

<sup>14</sup> Cité par Juan Bardina, *Orígenes de la tradición y del régimen liberal* (Barcelona, 1916), paragraphe 105.

<sup>15</sup> Par exemple, son "Instrucción reservada que la junta de estado creada formalmente por mi decreto de este día, 8 de julio de 1787, deberá observar en todos los puntos y ramos encargados a su conocimiento y examen," qui contient 395 articles sur la politique intérieure et extérieure de l'Espagne. *Obras originales del conde de Floridablanca y escritos referentes a su persona*, dans *Biblioteca de autores españoles* . . . (Madrid, 1867), Vol. 59, pp. 214-72.

<sup>16</sup> C'est dans cette œuvre qu'il plaide pour l'instruction des classes laborieuses, afin qu'elles puissent "derivar alguna luz de las investigaciones de los sabios" et qu'on force la nature, "si puede decirse así . . . a ayudar los esfuerzos del interés individual, ó por lo menos no frustrarlos." *Obras* . . . , dans *Biblioteca de autores españoles* . . . (Madrid, 1858-59), Vol. 50, p. 135.

*leyes oponen a la felicidad pública*,<sup>17</sup> Cabarrus ne se gênait point pour critiquer les pouvoirs publics et attaquer la monarchie absolue. C'est dans ces lettres, écrites en 1792 et 1793, qu'il développa son programme économique et humanitaire; là qu'il proposa la construction de routes et de canaux de navigation, qu'il parla de fonds de secours pour les déshérités ("un sistema de socorros públicos para todos los pobres")<sup>18</sup> et de lois pour la protection de la femme. Cabarrus défendait les libertés municipales et celle de l'enseignement, mais s'élevait avec force contre les ordres religieux qui, disait-il, sous prétexte d'enseigner l'humilité retirent de l'enfant la virilité, l'énergie et l'esprit d'indépendance pour lui laisser seulement la farouche hypocrisie monacale, "la tétrica hipocresía monacal."<sup>19</sup> Il aurait voulu que l'école ne s'occupât que de l'enseignement scientifique et laissât celui de la religion à l'Eglise.<sup>20</sup> Il était partisan des exercices physiques bien dirigés.

Cabarrus combattait aussi l'organisation de l'armée qui, disait-il, au lieu d'être composée d'hommes dignes et vertueux ayant le devoir sacré de défendre la patrie n'était qu'un troupeau d'êtres serviles ramassés dans la lie de la société et commandés par de jeunes nobles étourdis n'ayant qu'une instruction superficielle ou tout à fait nulle. Il s'élevait encore contre le célibat du clergé, où il voyait un danger pour la morale et la famille, contre le fonctionnarisme,<sup>21</sup> la cour, les courtisans et les courtisanes. Enfin, plus important encore pour ce qui nous occupe, il faisait l'éloge de l'Assemblée constituante<sup>22</sup> et de la Révolution qui avait proclamé les Droits de l'homme.

Les événements politiques de 1789, 1793-1795, et 1808 jouèrent un rôle décisif dans la vie et la pensée espagnoles de l'époque révolutionnaire, de la prise de la Bastille à la bataille de Waterloo. Dès 1789, comprenant le danger qui menace le régime monarchique, le ministre Floridablanca fait de son mieux pour arrêter le flot des idées séditeuses. Il demande aux officiers de "s'abstenir de parler de l'état actuel de la France" et ordonne au journaux de ne rien publier "quant aux affaires de France."<sup>23</sup> De libéral qu'il était, son gouvernement devient tout à fait réactionnaire. Désormais il ne saurait être question de continuer les réformes, encore moins de

<sup>17</sup> *Epistolario español*, dans *Biblioteca de autores españoles* . . . (Madrid, 1898), Vol. 62, pp. 551-600.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 567.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 571.

<sup>20</sup> "La enseñanza de la religión corresponde a la Iglesia, al cura, y cuando más a los padres; pero la educación nacional es puramente humana y seglar, y seglares han de administrarla." *Ibid.*, p. 571.

<sup>21</sup> "... la estúpida costumbre nos ofrece a Madrid con sus jueces conservadores o protectores, sus contadurías y una larga serie de subdelegados y oficinas, todos costosos y todos perjudiciales." *Ibid.*, p. 559.

<sup>22</sup> "Aquella asamblea constituyente de Francia, la mayor y más célebre agregación de talentos y de grandes conocimientos que tal vez haya honrado a la humanidad." *Ibid.*, p. 581.

<sup>23</sup> Alexandre Tratchevsky, "L'Espagne à l'époque de la Révolution française," *Revue Historique*, XXXI, 29.

maintenir les principes libéraux de l'enseignement et de l'administration. En 1790 l'Inquisition redouble d'activité et dresse une liste des livres prohibés,<sup>24</sup> index auquel on ajoutera un supplément en 1805. Les ambassadeurs eux-mêmes n'ont plus le droit de faire venir les livres défendus.

En 1791 paraît un édit concernant les étrangers fixés en Espagne. Ils doivent renoncer à tout ce qui les attache à leur patrie d'origine et "prêter serment au roi et à la religion catholique." Au mois d'août, lorsque la Prusse et l'Autriche décident la guerre contre la France, le gouvernement retire aux Français résidant en Espagne "les derniers privilèges" dont ils jouissent encore. Par contre il fournit de l'argent aux émigrés et renforce le cordon à la frontière. Mais au printemps de 1792, Floridablanca est remplacé par le Comte Aranda, le seul des grands ministres espagnols du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui appartienne à la haute noblesse.

Tout à fait imbu des idées françaises, Aranda suspend les subventions accordées aux émigrants et les invite à rentrer chez eux ou à travailler pour s'assurer un moyen d'existence. On assure que même les événements du 10 août ne réussirent pas à l'ébranler et qu'il aurait voulu arriver à conclure une alliance "de neutralité" avec la République Française.<sup>25</sup> Néanmoins, c'est sous son ministère qu'un nouveau décret royal (15 juillet 1792) demande la saisie aux douanes, et leur envoi au "ministerio de estado," de "tout imprimé ou manuscrit traitant de la Révolution ou de la nouvelle constitution française." Egalement interdite était l'entrée des "éventails, boîtes, rubans et autres objets y ayant trait d'une manière quelconque."<sup>26</sup> Celle des gilets où se trouvait brodé le mot "liberté" l'était depuis 1790. Ces mesures ne furent d'ailleurs pas très efficaces. Les idées continuèrent à se répandre, d'abord grâce à la richesse et à la diversité des moyens employés par la propagande, ensuite à cause de certaines contradictions dans la législation, enfin parce que les fonctionnaires chargés de faire exécuter les lois étaient déjà "contaminés," gagnés à la nouvelle cause.<sup>27</sup>

Cette propagande alimentait l'enthousiasme d'une partie de la jeunesse qui s'était déjà enflammée pour les grands principes. Quelques jeunes gens comme l'abbé Marchena et ses collaborateurs—son ami Hevia, ancien secrétaire de l'Ambassade espagnole, et Santibañez, ancien professeur au séminaire de Vergara—s'exilèrent en France

<sup>24</sup> L'entrée de l'*Encyclopédie méthodique* avait été interdite en 1784, mais on vendait encore librement des opuscules avec des titres tels que *La Francia libre, De los derechos y deberes del ciudadano* et le *Correo de Paris o publicista francés*. Mario Méndez Bejarano, *Historia política de los afrancesados con algunas cartas y documentos* (Madrid, 1912), p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Tratchevsky, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-32.

<sup>26</sup> Bejarano, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>27</sup> Altamira, *Historia de España* . . . , IV, 150. D'après Yves Guyot, le ministre lui-même ne faisait aucun effort pour faire appliquer les mesures prohibitives. *L'Evolution politique et sociale de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1899), p. 109.



d'où ils adressèrent plus tard de violents manifestes à leurs compatriotes. Il y eut aussi ce Martínez Ballesteros qui rassembla une brigade de 200 *guerrilleros* pour combattre avec les Français pendant la guerre de 1793 et l'Asturien Rubin de Celis qui se chargea de leur enseigner la doctrine révolutionnaire. On sait qu'il y eut des défections dans l'armée espagnole et que des députés basques pensèrent déclarer la république et annexer leur pays à la France. Enfin, divers groupes organisés à l'intérieur de la péninsule rêvaient l'établissement d'une ou de plusieurs républiques ibériques. Des tentatives de révolution,<sup>28</sup> dont la plus importante devait avoir lieu à Madrid en 1795, furent écrasées par le gouvernement et passèrent presque inaperçues au milieu d'événements de plus grande envergure.

Le règne d'Aranda ne fut que de courte durée. Godoy, son successeur, commit la maladresse, comme avait déjà fait Floridablanca en 1790, de faire des remontrances au gouvernement français. Après la mort de Louis XVI, il annonça son intention de déclarer la guerre à la France. Il n'en fit rien, cependant, et ce fut la Convention qui prit les devants, le 7 mars 1793. La fortune favorisa d'abord les Espagnols qui envahirent le territoire français dès le début des hostilités. Mais ce fut, l'année suivante, au tour des armées révolutionnaires de passer les Pyrénées. Malheureusement, avec elles pénétra également en Espagne le régime de la Terreur. Aussi l'un des effets de cette première guerre fut-il de compromettre sérieusement le prestige de la Révolution dans la péninsule.

Les principales clauses du traité de paix signé à Bâle en 1795 furent favorablement accueillies dans les deux pays.<sup>29</sup> La France évacua les territoires occupés en Espagne et, outre certains avantages économiques, obtint la garantie que les Basques qui s'étaient enthousiasmés pour les idées françaises ne seraient point inquiétés.<sup>30</sup> Un an plus tard les deux nations réconciliées concluaient un nouveau traité (celui de Saint Ildefonse) qui, en un sens, ressuscitait les accords du Pacte de famille, dont il n'était "en partie que la répétition littérale."<sup>31</sup>

L'Espagne ne tira pas tout le profit qu'elle attendait de cette nouvelle alliance. Les auteurs espagnols rappellent qu'elle dut se soumettre aux exigences du Directoire et subir toutes sortes d'humiliations; qu'elle devint le jouet de Napoléon et perdit sa flotte à Trafalgar.<sup>32</sup> Ce ne fut qu'en 1808, lorsque Napoléon voulut lui

<sup>28</sup> On en trouvera l'histoire détaillée dans la *Historia de la Revolución española* de Blasco Ibáñez (Barcelona, 1890). Voir aussi D. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal*, V, 259-60, ainsi que le chapitre intitulé "Los españoles en la Revolución francesa," *ibid.*, pp. 262-73.

<sup>29</sup> Ballesteros conclut que cette paix fut "humillante para España." *Síntesis de historia de España*, p. 414.

<sup>30</sup> Altamira, *Historia de España* . . . , IV, 79.

<sup>31</sup> Tratchevsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>32</sup> "Y que diremos de la batalla de Trafalgar, donde la marina española, sacrificada a los intereses de la Francia, pereció toda entera . . . !" s'exclame Jaime Balme, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.



imposer son frère comme roi, que l'Espagne se réveilla soudain pour se lancer dans cette longue et terrible guerre qui devait s'appeler celle de l'Indépendance. Il s'agissait d'abord de secouer le joug étranger et il est certain que bien des amis de la Révolution se soulevèrent alors contre elle "en vertu même de ses principes."<sup>83</sup> Il y avait d'ailleurs longtemps, comme le rappelle Blasco Ibáñez, que les soldats de la République avaient cessé de chanter la Marseillaise. Les Espagnols seuls en avaient encore le droit, dit-il. Mais la "Marseillaise" qu'ils chantèrent dans les rues et sur les places publiques de Cadix n'avait, sauf la musique, à peu près rien de commun avec celle de Rouget de l'Isle.<sup>84</sup> C'était un cri de guerre et de vengeance contre les Français. Sans y attacher trop d'importance on peut dire qu'elle symbolisait l'état d'esprit général qui avait été créé par les rapports politiques, les contacts physiques, entre l'Espagne et la France de la Révolution. Nombreux étaient alors les libéraux imprégnés d'idées françaises qui s'étaient déclarés partisans de la guerre à outrance contre l'envahisseur. C'est ce qui a permis de dire que le caractère du mouvement de 1808 avait été "purement national."<sup>85</sup>

Parmi ces "libéraux patriotes," comme on les appelle, il faut rappeler au moins les principales figures des Cortés de Cadix: D. Diego Muñoz Torrero, ancien recteur de l'université de Salamanque, champion de la souveraineté du peuple, célèbre pour ses discours contre l'Inquisition; D. José Mejía, le député équatorien qu'on appela le Mirabeau américain et que Menéndez y Pelayo appelle "un volteriano de pura sangre"; D. Agustín Argüelles, auteur du *Discours préliminaire* au projet de Constitution présenté aux Cortés et célèbre pour sa défense de la liberté de la presse; enfin, le poète D. Manuel José Quintana, porte-parole des libéraux, qui rédigea la plupart des proclamations et des manifestes de l'assemblée.

<sup>83</sup> Albert Sorel, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>84</sup> En voici les paroles, qui sont du poète D. Cristóbal Bedia:

A las Armas!  
A las armas corred, españolas,  
de la gloria la aurora brilló;  
la nación de los viles esclavos  
sus banderas sangrientas alzó.  
¿no escucháis en los campos vecinos  
los infames franceses bramar?  
¿no los veis con frenética furia  
los hogares del pobre talar?  
Los fuertes aceros  
patricios guerreros,  
al punto empuñad:  
marchad, sí marchad.  
Resuene el tambor,  
veloces marchemos  
Y la sangre española vengemos  
derramada con ciego furor.

D. Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, *Historia de la Revolución española*, I, 740.

<sup>85</sup> Adolfo Posada, *La Nouvelle constitution espagnole* (Paris, 1932), p. 17.

N'oublions pas d'autre part que la plupart des "afrancesados," les "francisés" qui s'empressèrent de collaborer avec Joseph Bonaparte, étaient aussi des libéraux. Ceux-ci, à peu près tout le monde en Espagne les a condamnés, même de fervents républicains comme Blasco Ibáñez. Notons cependant qu'ils ont eu quelques défenseurs, tels que Méndez Bejarano dans son *Historia de los afrancesados*.<sup>36</sup>

Se déclarer en faveur de Joseph Bonaparte, explique Bejarano, ne voulait pas dire être traître à sa patrie. C'était demeurer conséquent avec soi-même. Le paradoxe, c'est plutôt chez les législateurs de Cadix qu'il faut le chercher. Les libéraux qui prêchèrent la résistance au nouveau régime furent des aveugles, et mille fois aveugles, dit-il. Ils se fièrent aux paroles mensongères du rusé souverain (*del taimado Soberano*) et durent payer leur erreur de leurs fortunes et de leur sang alors qu'ils avaient l'immense douleur de voir détruites et réduites en cendres les libertés auxquelles ils avaient consacré leur âme et leur vie. Ayant embrassé la cause de Ferdinand VII, "ils se trouveront vaincus le jour de la victoire, car c'était l'absolutisme qui avait triomphé et non la patrie."<sup>37</sup> Mais ils n'acceptèrent point la leçon et ne se réconcilièrent jamais tout à fait avec les partisans de Joseph. Ils n'avaient d'ailleurs jamais tenu le même langage. Alors que les "patriotes," écrit encore Bejarano, disaient "notre religion, notre roi adoré," les autres demandaient à chacun de contribuer à l'organisation du nouveau gouvernement afin de l'établir sur des bases solides telles que la sauvegarde de la liberté, des droits et des propriétés. Enfin, Bejarano est d'avis que les législateurs de Cadix subirent l'influence française beaucoup plus que ceux de Bayonne. La constitution de Bayonne, dit-il, était plus espagnole que celle de Cadix, laquelle était presque entièrement calquée sur la constitution française et n'avait point de racine dans la tradition nationale.<sup>38</sup>

La plupart des "afrancesados" s'exilèrent au retour de Ferdinand. Parmi eux se trouvaient des noms illustres: les poètes Meléndez Valdés, Alberto Lista et Manuel Arias Arjone; les dramaturges Matute y Gaviria et Leandro Moratin; des humanistes comme Marchena et Pérez del Camino; et même Goya, jusqu'au moment où il prit Napoléon en haine. Le plus pittoresque d'entre eux fut sans doute l'abbé D. José Marchena, né en Andalousie.

Ayant eu maille à partir avec l'Inquisition, Marchena se réfugia d'abord à Gibraltar, puis en France. Il collabora pendant quelque temps à l'*Ami du peuple* de Marat, s'unit plus tard aux Girondins et n'échappa que par miracle à la guillotine. Morel-Fatio a publié dans la *Revue Historique* plusieurs documents relatifs à ses tentatives

<sup>36</sup> Il y a toute une bibliographie à leur sujet. Cf. Fidelino Figueiredo, *Las dos Españas* (Santiago, 1936), p. 145.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. sur ces questions B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch et E. Reale, *L'Espagne* (Paris: Editions Delagrave, 1932); voir aussi B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch, "Propos de méthode," dans *Revue d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle* (Paris, 1937), pp. 178 et seq.

de propagande révolutionnaire en Espagne. Voici un passage d'une lettre que Marchena écrivit à Le Brun le 29 décembre 1792, au premier de la République :

Citoyen ministre,

Le philosophe Brissot m'écrit qu'il m'a recommandé auprès de vous comme un ami de la liberté qui brûle de l'établir dans sa patrie opprimée par le plus violent despotisme depuis des siècles. Peut-être que la bonté de Brissot m'a peint comme un homme qui a quelques ressources et quelques talents, et peut-être qu'il se trompe en cela, mais sûrement il ne se trompe pas dans tout ce qu'il pourra avoir dit de ma haine contre la tyrannie et le désordre. Il y a longtemps, ministre du peuple français, que j'ai consacré mes faibles talents à leur anéantissement [il avait 24 ans au moment où il écrivait cela] ; il y a longtemps que je combats ces monstres ; six ans de persécutions et d'inquiétude dans le pays le plus esclave de la terre n'ont en rien affaibli la vigueur d'un caractère indomptable.<sup>39</sup>

Il raconte ensuite comment il a dû venir chercher asile en France et termine sa longue lettre en exprimant l'espoir qu'on jugera à propos d'utiliser ses services pour l'organisation de "quelque établissement pour préparer la Révolution" en Espagne. Le Brun accepte et Marchena lui soumet un mémoire où il expose ses idées sur la question. Il avait déjà rédigé un manifeste adressé au peuple espagnol où se trouvaient à peu près les mêmes idées.<sup>40</sup> Entre autres choses il demandait l'abolition du Saint-Office, la réunion des Cortès et une république fédérative dans la péninsule. Dénoncé comme "étranger et suspect," il fut arrêté à Paris alors qu'il allait se rendre à Bayonne pour y collaborer aux travaux du comité de propagande.<sup>41</sup> Libéré le 9 thermidor, il redevint très actif sous le Directoire, fut secrétaire du général Moreau, puis plus tard de Murat en Espagne. Joseph Bonaparte le nomma rédacteur de la *Gaceta* et archiviste du ministère de l'intérieur. Il s'exila de nouveau en 1813, revint en Espagne en

<sup>39</sup> Cité par Alfred Morel-Fatio, "José Marchena et la Propagande révolutionnaire en Espagne en 1792 et 1793," *Revue Historique*, XLIV (1890), 73.

<sup>40</sup> Le texte français du mémoire est cité par Morel-Fatio, *ibid.*, pp. 76-79. La traduction espagnole se trouve dans la longue introduction que Menéndez y Pelayo a publiée en tête du volume II des *Obras literarias de D. José Marchena* (Séville, 1892). On trouve le texte de l' "Aviso al pueblo español" aux pages xxxviii-xliii. Le volume I contient de nombreuses poésies parmi lesquelles une "Apóstrofe a la Libertad," une ode "Al Rey intruso José Napoleón" et "La Revolución francesa," qui fut sans doute écrite peu après la prise de la Bastille. En voici quelques vers :

Yacen por tierra los tremendos muros  
Terror del ciudadano,  
Horrible baluarte del tirano.  
La libertad del cielo  
Desciende, y la virtud dura y severa. . . .

Dulce filosofía  
Tú los monstruos infames alanzaste ;  
Tu clara luz fué guía  
Del divino Rousseau, y tú amaestraste  
El ingenio eminente  
Por quien es libre la francesa gente.  
(I, 15-16)

<sup>41</sup> Morel-Fatio, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

1820 et mourut à Madrid au début de l'année suivante. Comme Cabarrus, Marchena fut l'un des plus ardents et des plus influents propagateurs de la doctrine révolutionnaire en Espagne. Non seulement il le fut par l'action directe, mais aussi, et peut-être surtout, par ses traductions de Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau et Molière. Aussi, après Chateaubriand, qui l'avait appelé "savant immonde et avorté plein de talent," Menéndez y Pelayo n'hésite-t-il pas à le présenter comme "propagateur d'impiété et corrupteur d'une grande partie de la jeunesse espagnole pendant plus d'un demi siècle."<sup>42</sup>

Des écrits que les "afrancesados" publièrent plus tard pour se disculper, le plus célèbre est celui du poète Felix José Reinoso intitulé *Exámenes de los delitos de infidelidad a la patria*, que Menéndez y Pelayo trouve froidement immoral, corrosif, destructif et anti-patriotique.<sup>43</sup> Comme Marchena lui-même,<sup>44</sup> la plupart des "afrancesados" furent des idéalistes sincères, désintéressés, ennemis de l'absolutisme, "antifernandistes enragés."<sup>45</sup> Mais on se plut à les confondre avec les traîtres. Par la suite, l'épithète fut appliquée à tous les libéraux, même à ceux qui avaient "résisté." Aussi est-il maintenant d'usage de distinguer entre ceux qui étaient "francisés" seulement au point de vue intellectuel et ceux qui le furent également au point de vue politique. On peut naturellement citer des auteurs qui ne s'embarrassent point de telles distinctions :

Notes bien, dit par exemple Barina, que tous les encyclopédistes et voltairiens étaient francs-maçons, tous les francs-maçons libéraux et en même temps traîtres. Ce sont là des faits lumineux pour quiconque veut juger sans passion, conclut-il sans rire, les causes et les effets de la politique.<sup>46</sup>

La restauration de la monarchie absolue en 1814 et les persécutions qui s'ensuivirent envenimèrent le conflit déjà vif entre l'Espagne traditionaliste et l'Espagne révolutionnaire. En 1820 le "pronunciamiento" du général Riego signifia le retour au régime constitutionnel inauguré en 1812 par les Cortès de Cadix. Mais en 1823 ce fut de nouveau le triomphe de la monarchie absolue, grâce à l'aide des "fils de Saint-Louis" venus remettre Ferdinand sur le trône. A la mort de celui-ci, en 1833, les libéraux reprirent le pouvoir et peu après commença la première guerre carliste. Dès lors l'histoire d'Espagne ne devait être plus qu'une succession de guerres civiles, de coups

<sup>42</sup> *Obras literarias de D. José Marchena*, II, clv. Rudolph Schevill lui rend justice dans son article "El Abate Marchena and French Thought of the XVIIIth Century," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XVI (1936), 180-94.

<sup>43</sup> Bejarano écrit qu'on ne saurait juger l'examen par ce qu'en dit Menéndez y Pelayo mais plutôt "por lo que omite y deja con habil pericia adivinar" (*op. cit.*, p. 341).

<sup>44</sup> "En materias de dinero era incorruptible, y cumplía al pie de la letra con la austeridad republicana que tantos otros traian solamente en los labios." *Obras* . . . , II, clviii.

<sup>45</sup> " . . . los afrancesados—que mejor fuera llamar antifernandinos rabinos. . . ." Guillermo de Torre, *Menéndez y Pelayo y las dos Españas* (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 54.

<sup>46</sup> *Orígenes de la Tradición del régimen liberal*, paragraphe 170.

d'Etat et de dictatures où il est parfois bien difficile de reconnaître les vrais amis de la démocratie. Il l'est encore plus d'y faire la part de l'influence française.

Plusieurs excellents livres ont été écrits sur la civilisation espagnole du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle par des auteurs comme Altamira, Castillejo, Figueiredo, Ganivet, Madariaga, Marvaud, Menéndez y Pelayo, Ortega y Gasset, Trend, Unamuno, etc., mais il nous manque encore l'ouvrage qui nous donnerait un tableau complet de la pensée de cette époque. Cela a été fait pour l'Amérique latine,<sup>47</sup> mais non pour l'Espagne. Il nous manque en particulier la monographie qui analyserait systématiquement l'origine et l'évolution des idées révolutionnaires dans les divers domaines de la pensée.

Il arrive qu'un auteur ne fasse qu'une vague allusion au rôle joué par la Révolution française dans la propagation des idées. Tel est le cas, par exemple, du Portugais Fidelino Figueiredo qui, tout en donnant la place qui convient à la philosophie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, a réalisé ce tour de force d'écrire un volume de 240 pages—ouvrage intitulé les *Deux Espagnes* (*As duas Espanhas* [Lisbonne, 1932]), c'est-à-dire l'Espagne traditionaliste et l'Espagne révolutionnaire—sans consacrer un seul paragraphe à la Révolution. Cela est d'autant plus remarquable que son livre demeure néanmoins l'un des meilleurs sur le sujet. Figueiredo remplace les mots *Tradition* et *Révolution* par ceux de *Philippisme* et *Antiphilippisme* pour distinguer entre ses deux Espagnes, qu'il sépare l'une de l'autre d'après leur attitude particulière envers le règne de Philippe II.

La plupart de ceux qui traitent le sujet insistent davantage sur les origines françaises de la doctrine libérale, ou antiphilippiste. Remarquons cependant qu'en général ils se préoccupent peu de montrer de quelle manière elle a été modifiée et enrichie par les faits sociaux et les événements politiques qui se sont déroulés à l'intérieur de la nation.

Les polémistes et théoriciens traditionalistes, qui la condamnent en bloc, répètent avec insistance qu'elle n'a absolument rien de national. Ramiro de Maeztu ajoute même que les libéraux espagnols n'y ont apporté aucune idée originale. La raison, explique-t-il, en est que les idées révolutionnaires ne sauraient naître dans un pays aussi fondamentalement antirévolutionnaire que l'Espagne. Persuadé qu'elles sont toutes d'origine étrangère,<sup>48</sup> Maeztu n'hésite donc pas à écrire "sans vouloir offenser personne," nous assure-t-il, que la

<sup>47</sup> Cf. l'essai, bien incomplet du reste, de William Rex Crawford, *A Century of Latin-American Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

<sup>48</sup> *Defense de la hispanidad* (Madrid, 1933), pp. 22, 94-95. Cf. "El objeto de nuestro trabajo, dit un autre contemporain, no era otro que demostrar . . . que mientras las ideas por los liberales son pura copia de Códigos extranjeros, los ideales tradicionalistas son los mismos de la España grande y gloriosa de la edad media." Dr. Juan Bardina, *Orígenes de la Tradición y del régimen liberal*, paragraphe 435.

Révolution est à proprement parler l'Anti-patrie.<sup>49</sup> Ce terme, "l'Anti-patrie," que Maurras a peut-être inventé—il disait aussi "l'Anti-France"—désigne un concept dont Menéndez y Pelayo serait le vrai inventeur.<sup>50</sup>

Il va sans dire que les libéraux, qui se croient pour le moins aussi bons Espagnols que leurs adversaire, ne laissent pas de souligner au contraire l'ancienneté et le caractère national de l'esprit libéral et révolutionnaire. C'est ce que ne manquèrent pas de faire les législateurs de la Constitution de Cadix qui disaient s'inspirer de la tradition démocratique de l'Espagne médiévale.<sup>51</sup> Mais on sait que ce retour à l'organisation politique et sociale du moyen âge constitue l'un des articles essentiels du Carlisme.

M. Anton del Olmet, un récent biographe de Joaquín Costa, écrit, après bien d'autres, que, si le haut Aragon se fit carliste, ce fut non point tant par fanatisme religieux que par passion libérale, "por ansias liberales," par réaction contre les libéraux uniformistes et ennemis des "fueros," des libertés locales.<sup>52</sup> C'est là une première source de confusion lorsqu'il s'agit de distinguer entre les deux Espagnes. Ce n'est pas la seule. Est-il besoin de rappeler que les épithètes de "despote" et d' "absolutiste" sont, selon les auteurs, tantôt appliquées aux libéraux et tantôt aux traditionalistes? C'est ainsi que Juan Bardina, qui consacre une page entière de son fameux livre sur les origines de la tradition et du régime libéral à louer les vertus de l'impartialité n'emploie jamais d'autre terme que celui d'absolutiste pour désigner les libéraux.

Certes, il ne serait pas très difficile de mettre les choses au point si la confusion ne résidait que dans le vocabulaire; mais on voit qu'elle se trouve aussi dans les faits. La question religieuse elle-même n'est pas très claire, car c'est aussi un fait indéniable qu'il y a de très sincères catholiques qui sont libéraux et démocrates. Ajoutons encore que l'armée a changé plusieurs fois de camp et que les groupements politiques se font plus souvent autour d'une personnalité que d'une doctrine.

Le grand problème qui continue à occuper les esprits au cours du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle est celui de la décadence et de l'élaboration d'un programme politique et surtout économique capable d'y ajouter un remède. Aussi est-il vrai que le désir de réformes ne s'est pas toujours manifesté dans le même parti, ce qui ajoute encore à la confusion. Enfin, au point de vue purement théorique, il ne faut pas oublier

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 22. Ce sont là des idées, des arguments et même une terminologie que nous trouvons dans les œuvres des contre-révolutionnaires français, de Rivarol à l'Action Française. Maeztu, fondateur de l' "Acción española," cite Maurras, Massis, Gaxotte, etc.

<sup>50</sup> Guillermo de Torre, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> Voir Adolfo Posada, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-11.

<sup>52</sup> Costa (Madrid, s. d. [ca. 1920]), pp. 223-24. L'auteur nous assure que Costa se fit républicain, non par conviction, mais "en un momento de desesperación..." (p. 241).



qu'il y a eu au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle des courants d'idées venus de différents points de l'horizon, de France, d'Allemagne, et d'Angleterre, et qui s'entremêlent les uns les autres.

Ce sont là assez de raisons pour montrer la difficulté, sinon l'impossibilité, de dire avec quelque précision quelles ont été la fortune et les ramifications de l'idéologie révolutionnaire en Espagne après le règne de Ferdinand VII. Plus on avance dans le siècle, plus il devient difficile de dire jusqu'à quel point elle a contribué à la formation intellectuelle d'un libéral, d'un défenseur des grands principes de liberté, d'égalité, de justice, de tolérance ou de progrès. Elle n'a certainement rien apporté, ou peu, par exemple, au libéralisme humanitaire des théoriciens du Krausisme<sup>83</sup>—les Sanz del Río, Nicolas Salmerón et leurs disciples Giner de los Ríos et Joaquín Costa, le grand apôtre de la révolution sociale—et peut-être encore moins à ceux de la "génération de 98." Il nous paraît toutefois évident que l'esprit de la Révolution, dans ce qu'il a de meilleur—la défense des grands principes humanitaires—est entré profondément dans la vie espagnole. On le trouve chez les grands penseurs et écrivains de gauche, de Martínez de la Rosa, Larra et Galdos à Blasco Ibáñez et Pío Baroja, et même chez ceux de droite.<sup>84</sup> On le trouve aussi dans le peuple. En Espagne comme ailleurs, c'est pour le triomphe des droits de l'homme, pour la liberté, pour la justice surtout, qu'on s'est battu et que l'on continue de se battre: "Il n'y a qu'une Dame dans le monde, disait Charles Péguy, qui ait fait faire plus de Guerres que l'injustice: et c'est la justice."<sup>85</sup>

Espérons qu'un jour un chercheur courageux pourra entreprendre et mener à bien l'étude propre à nous apporter les éclaircissements qui nous manquent encore sur cette intéressante question. En attendant, il n'aura peut-être pas été inutile de jeter un coup d'œil sur la période dite révolutionnaire et sur l'œuvre des quelques grands personnages qui, soit par leurs écrits ou leur action politique, directement ou indirectement, luttèrent alors pour la défense et la propagation des principes de Quatre-vingt-neuf.

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<sup>83</sup> Le système panthéiste de l'allemand C. C. F. Krause (1781-1832), disciple de Schilling, Fichte et Kant. Cf. "... en el hemisferio desfilipizante aparecían hombres también armados de algo más que de la simple negación del pasado o de la ideología francesa convertida en pasión política. Esa cosa más era una filosofía, eco lejano del pensamiento alemán. ..." Figueiredo, *Las dos Españas* (Santiago, Chile, 1936), pp. 175-76.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. à ce sujet: John T. Reid, *Modern Spain and Liberalism* (Stanford University Press, 1937); José Castillejo, *Wars of Ideas in Spain* (London, 1937); J. B. Trend, *The Origins of Modern Spain* (Cambridge, England, 1934); Salvador Madariaga, *Spain* (London, 1930).

<sup>85</sup> "L'argent," dans *Neuvième Cahier de la Quinzaine* (Paris, 1913), p. 147.

## CALVIN AND THE QUESTION OF WAR

By ABRAHAM C. KELLER

In the 1550's, with important victories over Bolsec, Castellio, Servetus, and the libertine party, Calvin attained virtually undisputed power in Geneva. As a consequence of his prestige in the Protestant city par excellence, his authority over the doctrinal, organizational, and political policies of the churches in France became practically supreme. In his works, therefore, and particularly in his correspondence, are registered the reactions of official Calvinist thought to the problems confronting the faithful of France. Here, on the basis of theology and the advancement of the Reform movement, we may see the sober formulations of policy in the first great crises of French Protestantism. A large number of opportunities presented themselves to further the cause by the use of armed force, and in Calvin's reasons for consent or opposition appeared many of the factors which were to guide the attitudes of the Huguenots both during Calvin's lifetime and after his death in 1564. Pacifism was no factor with Calvin: when he opposed war or violence, it was because he saw a conflict between the permanent values established in his doctrine on the one hand and the type of war in question or the objectives it sought to achieve on the other. The ways in which these conflicts presented themselves to Calvin can best be ascertained by an examination, first of his fundamental beliefs affecting the question of war, and then of the applications and modifications of these beliefs in the critical events of 1559-1563.

Calvin's attitude toward armed force flows from his view of the state and its rulers as endowed with the sanction of God. It was far from his thoughts to undermine political institutions, for questions relating to types of government and choice of rulers lie wholly in God's hands and are not affairs for men to approve or disapprove.<sup>1</sup> This divine derivation of state machinery entails the single restriction that rulers may make no laws contrary to God's precepts.<sup>2</sup> In a properly ordered state, conforming to divine precepts, the magistrates and the subjects have well-defined duties. The magistrates, being protectors of tranquillity and morality, are charged with maintaining the welfare and peace of the community. In exercising their functions, they are permitted to use violence when necessary, but subjects are strictly forbidden to bear arms.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To Marguerite de Navarre, April 28, 1545, *Calvini Opera*, ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, Vols. 29-87 of *Corpus Reformatorum* (Brunsvigae, 1863-1900), XII, 64-68; *Institutions*, liv. IV, ch. 20, C.O., IV, 1129, 1158, and *passim* in the chapter on civil government.

<sup>2</sup> C.O., IV, 1128-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1136-38. The admonition regarding subjects appears only in the French text. On the question of who may bear arms, Calvin said, in his sermon



Government being necessary to contain the inordinate appetites and wicked inclinations of men, the rule of "superiors" is taken for granted by Calvin. More than this, the subjects must honor and revere their rulers, looking upon them as God's lieutenants, must obey their laws, pay tributes and taxes, and perform all duties freely and willingly. Subjects are freed from these obligations only when their performance would conflict with the sovereign empire of God.<sup>4</sup> But even in such a case the individual subject has no right beyond that of passive resistance, for a wicked ruler must be regarded as a punishment for man's sins. Calvin specifies that "private persons" must abstain from any enterprise against constituted authority, though they may make remonstrance or petition to the magistrate.<sup>5</sup> Obedience must be regarded not as a necessary evil, but as a positive service to God. In the last French redaction of the *Institutes* (1560),<sup>6</sup> after the Protestant position on the French monarchy had been well established, Calvin made a strong reservation to this remark, saying that he was speaking of the nature of the office of magistrate and not intending to put a cloak of dignity over the villainous acts of rulers.<sup>7</sup> This is in sharp contrast to the earlier unqualified statements, for example, that even perverse and dishonorable rulers have all the dignity and power which God gives to the ministers of His justice.<sup>8</sup>

Calvin's statements on war and the use of violence have their origin in his view of sovereignty. Wars, like wicked rulers, must be taken for granted as divine punishment for man's ingratitude and disobedience to God.<sup>9</sup> It is particularly common for wars, along with

on Genesis 1-14 (pub. 1560): "Nul ne peut user de force et de violence, sinou qu'il ait autorité acquise de celui à qui elle appartient. Par tant il n'y a que les Rois, les Princes et magistratz qui puissent prendre les armes, et avec lesquels aussi on se puisse conjoindre. Voilà un article qui nous doit estre resolu: car que seroit-ce si chacun se iettoit ainsi en campagne, s'il y avoit quelque iniure faite? Il y auroit une horrible confusion partout." *C.O.*, XXIII, 643.

<sup>4</sup> *Confession de foy adressée à Henri II*, November, 1557, *C.O.*, IX, 715-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Inst.*, *C.O.*, IV, 1152-53. Cf. the excellent discussion of this point by Georgia Harkness in *Calvin* (New York, 1931), pp. 229-34.

<sup>6</sup> See R. N. C. Hunt, *Calvin* (London, 1933), p. 115, and G. Lanson, "L'Institution chrétienne de Calvin," *Revue Historique*, LIV (1894), 60-76, for details of dating.

<sup>7</sup> The old statement ends: "ils doyvent garder ceste obeissance pour la crainte de Dieu, comme s'ils servoyent à Dieu mesme, d'autant que c'est de luy qu'est la puissance de leur Prince." The addition of 1561 reads: "Je ne dispute pas des personnes, comme si une masque de dignité couvrir toute folie, sottise, ou cruauté, ou complexions meschantes, ou toutes villainies, et par ce moyen acquerir aux vices la louange de vertus. Seulement ie dy que l'estat de superiorité est de sa nature digne d'honneur et reverence, tellement que nous prisions ceux qui president sur nous, et les ayons en estime au regard de la domination qu'ils obtiennent." *Inst.*, *C.O.*, IV, 1151-52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1154. These contradictory statements, to be found within three pages of each other, have not, to my knowledge, been noted and related to Calvin's recent experience. F.-M. Méaly, whose relation of events with the development of ideas in this period is in general the soundest available, fails to cite this addition, and consequently divorces Calvin's theory from political experience. *Les Origines des idées libérales* (Paris, 1903), pp. 48-49, 53.

<sup>9</sup> *C.O.*, XIII, 66-68; XIV, 292.

other scourges, to be visited on mankind immediately after religious reformations, when man is expiating for the errors and transgressions of the past. Calvin accordingly spoke of the forceful suppression of the French Protestants in 1551 as the manifestation of a divine punishment.<sup>10</sup>

It follows from these views that the believer's defense against violence must be patient resignation and an ever firmer belief in the justice of God. "There is no better shield, wall, or rampart than with one accord to call upon Him who promised to be in the midst of those who gather in His name."<sup>11</sup> This advice was given by Calvin to suffering congregations in France as well as to men of action. His opposition to sedition was categorical: "Better that we all be destroyed than that God's Word be exposed to the charge that it armed men to sedition and tumult, for God will make the ashes of His servants ever fertile, but excesses and violence will bring sterility."<sup>12</sup> In all this, Calvin showed a great concern for political stability, which was a determining factor in his decisions on the use of violent methods. Calvin's reasoning was usually the same: the fixed order of the world, with God as sovereign, makes the people "natural subjects" of their princes, and revolts are useless as well as pernicious.<sup>13</sup>

The most significant application of Calvin's ideas came in the period of the Amboise conspiracy, where we may most clearly discern the practical as well as the intellectual constitution of his decisions. As a general key to the discussion, it must be noted that the inner harmony of the French movement under Calvin's direction was disturbed around 1559-1560 as a result of the union of the "religious" and "political" Huguenots. The diversity of interests represented and the varying conditions under which his followers lived—ranging from safe and monolithic Geneva to the persecutions in the south of France—made Calvin's control over their activities very relative. As a result of the Amboise conspiracy (March, 1560), in which the Huguenots used force as their instrument of political action, Calvin was thought by Protestants and Catholics alike to have favored, or even initiated, an illegal armed enterprise. His failure to speak publicly and directly either for or against the conspiracy left him exposed to attacks of insincerity and opportunism, and he was at great pains to vindicate both the consistency of his action and the integrity of his thought. While he was still awaiting news of the outcome of the uprising, he wrote to Sturm that he always considered the whole plot stupid and childish, and for a whole year after the conspiracy he strove to disculpate himself, painstakingly tracing his

<sup>10</sup> Calvin to Bullinger, October 15, 1551, *C.O.*, XIV, 187.

<sup>11</sup> Calvin to a church in France, January 28, *C.O.*, XV, 412-13.

<sup>12</sup> September 16, 1557, *C.O.*, XVI, 630. Cited by A. Picard, *Théodore de Bèze* (Cahors, 1906), p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Inst.*, *C.O.*, IV, 1134. Cf. the letter of the Geneva Senate to the King of France, January 28, 1561, *C.O.*, XVIII, 343-45, where the Genevans stated that Calvinist ministers opposed all uprisings.

connection with the plot to show that he had opposed it from beginning to end.<sup>14</sup>

From the correspondence it appears that, at all times during the preliminary discussions, Calvin opposed the plans for an armed uprising. Only his reasons changed with the progress of events, but his fundamental concern for legitimacy was never weakened. Writing to Sturm on August 15, 1559, he said that no plans for action in favor of the faithful of France should be considered until the position of the first prince of the blood, Antoine de Navarre, was clear.<sup>15</sup> In a letter of the same date, Calvin's emissary in France, Morel, wrote that he despaired of Navarre's courage and asked whether other means might not be found to relieve the miseries of the church. He added, significantly, that he realized that Calvin did not advance any plan other than that involving the king of Navarre.<sup>16</sup> It is safe to state that Calvin's opposition to such "other means" in August, 1559, was based primarily on the hope that Antoine de Navarre would stage a "peaceful demonstration" in Paris, assert his right as first prince of the blood, and become the guardian or regent for the young François II, ejecting the Guises from dominance and giving the government an attitude favorable to the Huguenots. Calvin's hopes were completely consonant with law and tradition and represented the most strictly legitimate approach.

The history of Antoine de Navarre's relations with the Calvinist movement is too long and involved to be traced here, except to indicate on what flimsy grounds Calvin's hopes were based. Antoine's dominant interest was the restoration of his lands held by Spain, and his fluctuations and alignments were always determined by the chances of achieving that end. If we add to this highly variable factor the man's poor judgment and unstable character, we have an idea of the undependable nature of his support. Of these facts Calvin was well aware, as is shown by his own letters as well as by dispatches sent to him by his colleagues and emissaries.<sup>17</sup> In August, 1559, Morel, writing from France, came to the conclusion that chances of action by Antoine were exhausted; in September the same opinion was voiced by Hotman; and a month later Calvin himself spoke of Navarre with extreme disgust.<sup>18</sup> His lingering hopes for a determined stand by the

<sup>14</sup> C.O., XVIII, 38-39, 80-81, 83-85, 94-96, 343-45, 425-31.

<sup>15</sup> C.O., XVII, 594-95. Heinz Marr, in his *Calvin und die Widerstandsbewegung* (Dresden, 1902), p. 9, correctly regards this letter as the key to Calvin's attitude at this time. Marr's study, which is generally confirmed here, is so much concerned with the varying conditions as they affected Calvin's point of view that it fails to emphasize the underlying consistency in Calvin's reasoning. To me it has seemed more important to present Calvin's statements as integral parts of a consistent political outlook, which Marr sees but to which he does not assign its proper importance.

<sup>16</sup> C.O., XVII, 595-98.

<sup>17</sup> *Idem*; also Calvin to Sturm, August 15, 1559, *ibid.*, pp. 594-95.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 608-10, 621, 652-53; XVIII, 732.

king of Navarre, hopes by no means shared by the other leaders and informed persons of the movement, can only be attributed, then, to the great concern for legitimacy of action which dominated his decisions and which we shall encounter again and again.

When the weak Antoine de Navarre allowed himself to be brushed aside and the Guises to proceed with their plans for the coronation of François II (September 18, 1559), Calvin, thanks to pressure from the other leaders in Switzerland and from the whole movement within France, was prepared to approve "other means"—provided they were legitimate. What were these other means? Morel, in his letter of August 15, 1559, told Calvin that by the law of the land, when there is a child king, the Estates may be summoned for the purpose of appointing a privy council, in which usually the prince closest by blood to the king has the leading role.<sup>19</sup> The legality of the plan to cause the Estates to be convoked cannot be doubted, and Calvin seems to have given countenance to the idea. This, at least, was the impression of Sturm and Hotman in their letters to Calvin on September 19, 1559. As to the plan itself, it was evidently vague at this stage, and we do not know exactly what the "institutum consilium" was which Sturm understood Calvin to approve. But there are several indications of the possibilities.

The chief basis of the impression that Calvin approved the plans is a lost letter of Bèze to Hotman.<sup>20</sup> In the absence of this letter, we must infer what Bèze wrote to Hotman from what he wrote to Bullinger at the same time.<sup>21</sup> To Bullinger, Bèze distinctly spoke of an armed political uprising, and his use of the first person plural can easily be taken to refer to himself and Calvin, whence Sturm's impression. A second indication of what was being considered in September, 1559, comes from Hotman, who revealed this part of his plan: that he had secured the collaboration of a wealthy nobleman who would organize a venture for the reconquest of Metz and that the neighboring princes were to be solicited for help.<sup>22</sup> When Calvin sent Bèze to Strasbourg, therefore, it was for discussion of plans including at least these two measures: (a) the general perspective of a convocation of the Estates of France, and (b) united action by the German Protestant princes and the French Huguenots for the capture of Metz from the Guise family. While Calvin, by sending Bèze to these negotiations, gave some measure of approval, we have

<sup>19</sup> Morel to Calvin, August 15, 1559, *C.O.*, XVII, 595-98.

<sup>20</sup> Sturm to Calvin, September 19, 1559, *C.O.*, XVII, 644: "Ex literis D. Bezae ad doctorem Hotmanum intelligo quo in statu sint res gallicanae et institutum consilium adhuc vobis placere, ad illudque redeundum esse."

<sup>21</sup> This letter, Bèze to Bullinger, September 12, 1559, *C.O.*, XVII, 636-39, appears to be the first direct allusion to plans for a conspiracy: "Saepe consulimur an liceat adversus istos, non tantum religionis sed etiam regni hostes insurgere, quum praesertim secundum leges nulla sit adhuc penes regem ipsum autoritas qua illi niti possint. Neque enim desunt multi Scaevolae qui certa etiam morte parati sint veram libertatem redimere, si iusta vocatio appareat."

<sup>22</sup> Hotman to Calvin, September 19, 1559, *C.O.*, XVII, 645-47.

more precise ways of judging his attitude. It is revealing that, while Sturm asked for the attendance of either Calvin or Bèze, Hotman—the most militant leader of plans for the relief of conditions in France—specifically asked for Bèze.<sup>23</sup> In view of Bèze's approving mention of a military uprising and the doubt that Sturm felt as to Calvin's consent, it is probable that Calvin himself was still very reluctant. This view is reinforced by Calvin's own comment immediately after dispatching Bèze to Strasbourg. Writing to Bullinger, he expressed doubt that anything would come of the meeting and said that he was participating only not to offend Sturm.<sup>24</sup>

As to forcing a convocation of the Estates, we have seen that this and all other direct action in France was dependent in Calvin's mind on the participation of Antoine de Navarre, first prince of the blood. Having no sign of coöperation from Navarre, Calvin could only deem such political action illegitimate, for the initiative thereby taken by subjects of the realm would be contrary to his conception of relations within the state. Different, however, was the possibility of action by the Protestant princes of Germany. The two courses open from this quarter were first, military action in favor of the Huguenots—particularly a move for the capture of Metz, which since 1552, when the French had taken it from the Germans, had become the stronghold and symbol of the Guise power; and second, a united diplomatic drive to influence the French court to adopt a more liberal policy toward the Huguenots. For reasons which may be clearly discerned, one or both of these plans must have been attractive to Calvin and probably served as the basis for his participation, through Bèze, in the Strasbourg conference of early October, 1559.

Action by the German princes did not involve the objection of illegality or popular initiative. But the main positive advantage was that this substitute to insurrection might lead to a successful solution of a problem with which Calvin had for many years been grappling, namely, that of unity between the French and German Protestant movements. From the very beginning of his ministry Calvin engaged in the well-known doctrinal controversy with the Lutherans on the question of the Lord's Supper.<sup>25</sup> The schism arising from this disagreement between the Lutheran and the "Reformed" churches threatened to widen and remain permanent, and in the middle 1550's, despite his own and Farel's efforts, Calvin saw little prospect of unity either in doctrine or in action. But Farel, guided by Calvin, continued to press the German princes for political action on behalf of the French, and the princes sent a series of letters to the king of France,

<sup>23</sup> *C.O.*, XVII, 645-47.

<sup>24</sup> October 5, 1559, *ibid.*, pp. 654-56.

<sup>25</sup> Calvin held that in the Eucharist there is only a virtual presence of Christ, therefore only a spiritual participation on the part of communicants; the Lutherans maintained that the body and blood of Christ are objectively and consubstantially present.

assuring him that the French Protestants were not seditious or un-Christian, asking for an end to the persecutions, and urging a council of qualified men to examine the merits of the articles of the Protestant faith. True, the answer of the king was a complete rejection of their claims and their proposals,<sup>26</sup> but the active interest of the princes encouraged Calvin, for whom this was the redeeming feature of the Strasbourg conversations.<sup>27</sup> Although his complete and mature program of attaining doctrinal concord and common political action with the Germans was to be developed only by circumstances, after the outbreak of the French civil war in March, 1562, he knew, in 1559 and 1560, that unity in one field would facilitate unity in the other.<sup>28</sup> Later, when German troops were needed by the Huguenots, the possibility of using military coöperation to stimulate theological accord was most fully exploited.<sup>29</sup>

With the outbreak of war in France in March, 1562, Calvin took a strong stand in favor of military action. But his underlying ideas did not change; rather it was a strict application of his views that made him a leader of the Protestants in war as he had been in peace. Calvin's reasoning during this period differed from that of his colleagues only in that it was consistent with his statements of 1559-1562. While many of the other Protestant leaders had planned illegal armed action, Calvin insisted on legitimate grounds for all action.

The massacre of Vassy (March 1, 1562) violated guarantees given to the Huguenots by the French government, and Calvin, always upholding law,<sup>30</sup> could only support the Huguenots against this unlawful military aggression. While the Reformed publicists wrote pamphlets justifying the resort to arms, Calvin occupied himself with the organizational task of welding unity among the churches of France, spurring the Huguenots to greater effort, and taking charge

<sup>26</sup> The most forceful of these letters is that of March 19, 1558, *C.O.*, XVII, 100-03. The king's reply is dated May 21, 1558, *ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

<sup>27</sup> Calvin and Bèze to Bullinger, December, 1559, *ibid.*, pp. 687-95.

<sup>28</sup> Besides the obvious truth in this, Calvin had before him the case of the Schmalkalden League, where, albeit for a brief period, doctrinal and political agreements among the German princes mutually advanced and reinforced each other.

<sup>29</sup> On the use of German troops by the Protestants in France, which Calvin previously opposed, see Calvin to Bullinger, June 9, 1562, *C.O.*, XIX, 432-36. The merging of political and theological questions first appears in d'Andelot's letter to Calvin written from Eslingen, August 11, 1562. This is the proposal that at the meeting of the Emperor and the electors at Frankfurt in October, 1562, a confession of faith be presented by the Huguenots, written "par personne notable." In view of this Calvin wrote the "Confession de Foy, faicte par M. Iean Calvin, au nom des Eglises du Royaume de France, durant la guerre, pour présenter à l'Empereur, aux Princes et Estats d'Allemagne en clos." This document did not reach the Prince de Condé in time for his signature and was never presented at Frankfurt as planned; but Calvin published it in 1563 for its propaganda value. See Calvin to Condé, early May, 1563, *C.O.*, XX, 12-15. The *Confession* appears in *C.O.*, IX, 753-72.

<sup>30</sup> Specifically, the Edict of January, on which the most characteristic brief statement by the Protestants is in Bèze's letter to Bullinger, written from Paris, March 2, 1562, *C.O.*, XIX, 315-17.



of much of the burden of arranging financial and military aid. His political statements, except in connection with these efforts, were rare and merely reiterated his earlier assurances that the Huguenots had no subversive aims against the king, that, on the contrary, they were risking life and property to maintain his superiority and the authority of his edicts.<sup>31</sup>

Calvin's concern for legitimacy, which we have seen to be the guiding principle of his decisions in the use of armed force, received its most crucial test in the situation arising from the peace terms which ended the first civil war (March 19, 1563). Three months earlier Calvin had justly regarded the situation of the Catholics as desperate,<sup>32</sup> and the subsequent reverses of the Huguenot forces did not, in the view of Calvin and most of his colleagues, justify the humiliating peace terms accepted by Condé on March 19, 1563. For the Prince de Condé, who, as a result of the treaty, became lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and for the nobles, who were granted freedom of worship on their estates, the treaty was satisfactory; but the mass of Huguenots, both "religious" and "political," accused Condé of treason to the cause. Huguenots would be permitted to worship in only one town per bailiwick, and not at all in Paris. While there was some justification for the latter clause, the former was patently unfair, especially in the south, where the Protestants were numerically strong. In spite of the fact that in the course of the war the Catholic forces had been seriously weakened, there was practically nothing in the peace treaty which reflected this change.

Calvin, though regretting the terms, saw no other course than to stand legitimately by the treaty, which was an official act of the Huguenot leadership. Making the most of the bad situation, he exhorted Condé to validate the clauses favorable to the Protestants and not to be maneuvered by the opposition.<sup>33</sup> But, while foreseeing trouble in the future and providing for it, Calvin urged adherence to the treaty, on two main grounds: (a) that the military forces were inadequate to continue the war, and (b) that there was no basis in right or in law for violating the peace terms. Of the two, the second is clearly Calvin's basic reason. The doubt which he casts on the possibility of continuing military action is weak and relative, obviously inserted because this reasoning might be more convincing to men in the field than a disquisition concerning solely the importance of legitimacy in politics.<sup>34</sup> But it is not hard to see that here, as in the con-

<sup>31</sup> *Confession de foy*, 1562, C.O., IX, 754. Cf. *Les Syndiques et Conseil de Genève à Charles IX*, January 28, 1561, in J. Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin* (Paris, 1854), II, 373-78: "ilz n'ont jamais donné conseil de rien changer ou attenter en l'estat public."

<sup>32</sup> Calvin to Bullinger, soon after December 15, 1562, C.O., XIX, 600-03.

<sup>33</sup> Calvin to Condé, shortly before May 7, 1563, C.O., XX, 12-15.

<sup>34</sup> See Calvin's letters to Mme de Roye, early April, 1563, C.O., XIX, 687-88; to Bullinger, April 8, 1563, *ibid.*, pp. 690-93; and to Soubise, April 5, 1563, *ibid.*, pp. 685-87. Especially revealing is his letter of May 25, 1563, to Soubise (gov-

piracy of Amboise (which he opposed and for which he had substitutes which were not unlawful) and in the first civil war (which he supported because the Huguenots fought on the side of the royal edicts), Calvin's greatest concern was to keep the Huguenots in France within the bounds of legitimate political action.

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ernor of Lyon, who hesitated to give up the town as long as Protestant forces were present and in a position to fight), *C.O.*, XX, 30-31.



## STUDIA ISLANDICA

(Part I)

By R. GEORGE THOMAS

This essay deals almost exclusively with the work of Professor Sigurður Nordal of Reykjavik University. He is best known outside Iceland as the general editor of the *fslenzk Fornrit* edition, as the last editor of the text of *Orkneyinga saga*, and as the author of a book on Snorri Sturluson<sup>1</sup> which, despite his recent disclaimers, is not only the best book on the subject, but also an excellent introduction to the study of Old Icelandic literature. It is unfortunate for English-speaking students that most of his work is written in modern Icelandic, whereas many students of the sagas have tended to learn German and Danish as the primary "tools" for advanced study in this field. Because of this, and at the suggestion of two distinguished American scholars, this essay has been written to bridge the gap in the knowledge of those who do not read modern Icelandic by summarizing the main suggestions in Professor Nordal's work. At the outset it must be stated that a summary cannot give the fine hesitations and often tortuous paths by which many of the conclusions were reached, but I hope that no injustice has been done to the work of a fine scholar and that the suggestions gleaned from this article will stimulate a fresh interest in the Family Sagas.

Although the main body of this article deals with work published between 1933 and 1941, I should like to make a brief reference to the fifth chapter of Nordal's book *Snorri Sturluson*. It is young work, but I think one can see in it the germ of much that has since come to fruition. The important suggestion is stated early in the chapter: that all the works lying between Ari's *Islendingabók* and *Víglundar saga* belong to one process of development in which there are two strains—the one, the urge for exact scholarship; the other, a desire to entertain. Initially close to each other, they eventually followed different paths, as in time the desire to entertain brought freedom from the burden of scholarship.

By taking five examples from the Icelandic sagas—*Egla*, *Njála*, *Gunnlaugs saga*, *Gretla*, *Víglundar saga*—this separation can be traced step by step. In *Egla*, as in the writings of Snorri, the union of scholarship with art is most complete, although the art is obviously uppermost. In *Njála*, the art is more important although it is held in check and supported by scholarship; here the saga art reaches its summit. The same may be said of *Gunnlaugs saga* although the author has treated his material rather freely. In *Gretla*, the check from historicity and tradition is still strong although in no way as strong as in *Egils saga*. Finally, in *Víglundar saga* the link is snapped, and the attempt to give the saga historical coloring is tried purely for artistic reasons.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sigurður Nordal, *Snorri Sturluson* (Reykjavik, 1920), pp. 129-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158. All quotations introduced into this text are, unless otherwise stated, direct translations from Nordal's work.

Thirty years later, we can see how accurately this paragraph forecasts the trend of Professor Nordal's subsequent work.

It is interesting to recall that while Nordal was writing these words, unknown to him, the manuscript of the lectures of his predecessor at Reykjavik University (B. M. Ólsen) contained this statement:

The more closely we read our sagas and conduct research into them, the clearer it becomes that they are works of art, that an artist's quill inscribed them on vellum and that behind him was no unified oral tradition enshrining a completely formed saga, but only a host of separate oral tales which the author had to collect and from which he selected the material to form his own integrated whole.<sup>3</sup>

It is no part of my plan here to indicate the nature of B. M. Ólsen's findings, to speculate on the effect early posthumous publication of these lectures might have had on the study of the Family Sagas, or to adjudge the clash of views between Sigurður Nordal's work and that of, say, Knút Liestøl or Andreas Heusler, but merely to present Nordal's views as faithfully as I can.

The scope of this essay will be threefold: first, it will illustrate the development of Professor Nordal's work on the Family Sagas subsequent to his book *Snorri Sturluson*, with the question of Snorri's authorship of *Egils saga* as the central theme; second, a fairly full summary will be given of his monograph analyzing in detail *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*;<sup>4</sup> third, a few suggestions will be made on the way his views might affect subsequent Old Icelandic studies. The tone of the whole is set by Axel Olrik's measured statement: "The important question is, not how many of the hundreds of incidents related in the sagas are historically true, but rather, how important is the spiritual treasure which the sagas have preserved."<sup>5</sup>

# I

The development of Professor Nordal's views after he wrote *Snorri Sturluson* is shown most clearly in the Introduction to *Egils saga*<sup>6</sup> and *Borgfirðinga sögur*<sup>7</sup> of the Íslenzk Fornrit edition. The former is a fine piece of research which must affect future opinions on the origin, growth, and development of the Family Sagas, and it has been completed by a commemorative essay on Snorri published in

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently published in *Safn til sögu Íslands*, VI, §§ 5, 6, and 7 (R'vik, 1937-1939) under the title *Um Íslendinga sögur*. Although these lectures were delivered at Reykjavik University between 1912 and 1917, they were first seen by Professor Nordal in 1935. This quotation comes from *Safn*, VI, § 5, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> S. Nordal, *Hrafnkatla*, No. 7 in the series Íslenzk Fræði (R'vik, 1940), pp. 3-84.

<sup>5</sup> Axel Olrik, *Nordisk Aandsliv i Vikingetid og Tidlig Middelalder* (Copenhagen, 1907), p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar*, ed. S. Nordal, in the series Íslenzk Fornrit, II (R'vik, 1933), Introduction, pp. v-cv.

<sup>7</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ed. S. Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, in the series Íslenzk Fornrit, III (R'vik, 1938). Nordal is responsible for all the Introduction, pp. v-clv.

*Skirnir* in 1941.<sup>8</sup> The second Introduction deals with four diverse sagas and is an excellent example of the way Nordal's approach can help to solve difficulties in understanding not only the date, authorship, or place of origin of a saga, but, what is more important, in understanding the method of work and the intentions of the saga-writer. It will be impossible to touch on all the points in these three monographs; I shall select those that deal directly with three principles: (1) the place of Snorri and *Egils saga* in the development of saga-writing in Iceland; (2) the way in which saga-writers set about their task before Snorri's day; (3) examples of the way the test of style and treatment of subject matter may be used to explain the provenance of a Family Saga.

(1) In paragraph 5 of the Introduction to *Egils saga*,<sup>9</sup> Nordal sets himself to answer the questions "When and where was the saga written?" The greater part of the answer expresses his belief that the development of the Family Sagas was preceded by the development and fine flowering of the Icelandic schools of historical writing which culminated in Snorri's *Heimskringla*. In his mind the two subjects are linked, and this lucid explanation is really an expansion of the theme already singled out from his *Snorri Sturluson*. He first shows how widely scholars have differed in dating the sagas; Finnur Jónsson includes most of the sagas, and all the best ones, in the period 1170-1200, while B. M. Ólsen thinks that few were written before 1200. Then, after mentioning the misinterpretation of the so-called "Sturlunga-prologue," found before the *Prestsaga of Gudmund the Good*, he shows how necessary it is in writing a genuine history of saga literature to try to determine accurately the date of every saga. After surveying the evidence of manuscripts, of what the saga itself says, and of its connection with other written sources, Nordal asks whether it is not possible to follow the methods of the archeologists by searching for evidence which suggests the age of sagas according to the state of cultural advancement shown by them in certain particular directions. To do this we must decide whether we are dealing with a spoken or a written art. There seems to be general agreement that in all the older sagas the main events were taken from oral tradition, although many other sagas seem to have been composed by writers as an entity and are partly or wholly fictitious. The differences arise in explaining how the forms were firmly fixed in oral tradition. Some believe they were secured in men's memories by a kind of alliterative prose; others believe that, although the form of a saga was fixed early in ordinary prose, they were learned by rote and passed unaltered from generation to generation. In contrast are those scholars who believe firmly in the influence of the author who collected his own

<sup>8</sup> "Snorri Sturluson: Nokkurar hugleiðingar á 700 ártíð hans," *Skirnir* (1941), pp. 5-33.

<sup>9</sup> *Egils saga*, pp. liii-lxx.

material, shaped his own style, made use of written sources, when they were available, and generally left his indelible mark on the sagas. "Briefly, my own opinion—formed from a study of individual sagas and the development of Icelandic saga-writing generally—is this: that no extant saga was written down in the same form as it was told."<sup>10</sup>

Sagas were told as much for entertainment as for instruction; both strands developed together. The same subject could be treated either as a dry family chronicle with a few well-known incidents thrown in, or as a dramatic episode which played on the emotions and the craving of the listeners for entertainment. Many arguments suggest that the oral tradition had neither safeguarded the sagas in a fixed form nor given a strictly true picture of historical events. As one example, Nordal quotes the "tháttur" from *Morkinskinna* about the young Icelandic who related in the presence of Harald hardráði a saga about Harald which he had learned piecemeal at successive Things from Halldor Snorrason in Iceland. It is incredible that the extant *Morkinskinna* story of Harald's expedition, written some 150 years after the event, can be the saga told to the young man by Halldor and obviously approved and attested by the king. The interpolations and additions from folktales which must distinguish this first retelling from the saga as we know it suggest the fate of true sagas "carefully" safeguarded by oral tradition. It is more useful to discard the idea of orally fixed saga forms and to recognize that Icelandic saga-writing shows a continuous line of development from the dry scholarship of Ari to the sheer fiction of *Víglundar saga*, and to admit that we do not know where the fiction begins. Once it is accepted that the men who wrote down the sagas were more than amanuenses, we may be able to trace how the writing of one saga affected the author of another, how these written sagas reflected the changing tastes of the people who read and heard them, and how, ultimately, the decay of popular taste produced both the listless annals and those fantastic, mechanical additions to older sagas with which *Flateyrbók* abounds.

Professor Nordal then suggests that there were at least three schools of writing which influenced the development of the saga style. First, the Southern school of historical writing centered around Oddi and Haukadal. This drew its strength from Saemund hinn fróði and Ari. It was a school of historical truth intended for chieftains and making no concessions to popular taste. When it sought foreign models, it drew upon annals and historical summaries. On its work depended *Landnámabók* and Ari's *Íslendingabók*; its principal task was the steadfast clarification of genealogies and the compilation, not of voluminous works, but of small compact briefs (*schedae*<sup>11</sup>) record-

<sup>10</sup> *Egils saga*, p. lx.

<sup>11</sup> Nordal here (p. lxiv, n. 1) refers the reader to the excellent discussion of this subject in Halldór Hermannsson's edition of *Íslendingabók*, in the series *Islandica*, XX (1927), 40 ff. I have used the word *briefs* in the sense of "short summary"; see Magnús Jónsson, *Guðmundar saga dýra*, in *Íslenzk Fræði*, No. 8 (R'vik, 1940), pp. 45-47.

ing the main facts. On this basis many sagas could have been, and probably were, written, and many of the *schedae* were probably used by scholars in the thirteenth century but have since been lost. This school was well under way around 1200.

The second was the Northern school at Thingeyrar Monastery, established in 1133.<sup>12</sup> The Northern Quarter does not seem to have enjoyed the influence or culture of powerful chieftains to the same extent as the South, and there the power of the Church and the clerical spirit were stronger. Here flourished Odd Snorrason, Gunnlaug Leifsson, and, ultimately, Styrmi Karason. The initial spur to this clerical saga-writing must have been the desire to write the life of Olaf Tryggvason, but Gunnlaug's foreign model was the Icelandic *Merlinussþá*, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. Similarly, works like *Trójumanna saga* and the lives of foreign saints probably had a great influence on the historical writing of Thingeyrar. The sagas of Olaf have a popular element; something alien to the critical spirit of Ari—the medieval craving for the marvelous—is admitted into saga-writing. A further influence would be the *Sverrissaga* of Abbot Karl Jónsson, which may have been completed in Thingeyrar and which was probably wholly modeled on Eirik Oddsson's *Hryggjarstykki*. Together these two works pointed the way to the development of a narrative style far superior to that which had so far been developed in the South. But after 1200 it appears that the Northern school influenced the Southern *Hungurvakka*, and *Thorlaks saga* of the latter followed upon the *Miracle Book of St. Thorlak* written at Thingeyrar in 1199. Even so, the spirit of these Southern writings is still more detached and aristocratic than that of the North.

For the third school, we have Snorri Sturluson, who seems to have inherited the qualities and used the materials of both the first and second schools and may be said to have founded the Borgarfirth school. In his own work the passion for knowledge and the desire to entertain were fused and reached their highest pitch.

The state of the Family Sagas around 1200 is then considered. *Heiðarvíga saga*, written by a clerk and showing the influence of the Northern school, was composed in Húnathing. As one may expect, there is no Icelandic Family Saga from the Southern school before the middle of the thirteenth century. Still, there are very few sagas from any quarter of the country before 1220: *Heiðarvíga saga* alone from Húnathing; *Fóstbroeðra saga*—in its oldest form written about 1210—from the Westfirths; possibly *Bjarnar saga*, written early in the century at Hitardal and showing no influence from Snorri's work but evidencing more of the direct influence of Thingeyrar; the Broadfirth sagas, *Eyrbyggja* and *Laxdoela*, both written after 1220; while

<sup>12</sup> Cf. G. Turville-Petre, "Notes on the Intellectual History of the Icelanders," *History*, XXVII, No. 106 (September, 1942), 116-17.

fairly old, isolated sagas from Eyjafirth and the Eastfirths are not likely to have been composed before 1200.

Nordal then pleads that although it may be considered questionable to draw conclusions about the age of a Family Saga from a study of the development of other sagas, it is more preposterous to maintain that the Icelandic sagas had already attained their highest peak while the Kings Sagas were in their infancy. *Heiðarviga saga*, the most primitive in point of composition and narrative treatment, bears unmistakable evidence of the author's personal stamp; the smoother style and better arrangement of subject matter in later sagas indicate a developing art of writing and a surer use of sources. This question of literary skill cannot be avoided when dealing with *Egla*. No Family Saga is so closely related to the Kings Sagas. The author has a sure style of his own and has learned from other writings how to handle his material and to support written sources by drawing upon oral tradition. Here we must reckon with an *author*, as even Heusler, Vogt, and Liestøl admit. There is nothing in the literary output of Borgarfirth before 1200 to suggest that it could have produced such a work, and so finally, after a detailed examination of the findings of B. M. Ólsen and Per Wieselgren,<sup>13</sup> Professor Nordal concludes: "The better I come to know *Egils saga*, the more I am convinced that it is Snorri's work, and in the future I shall not hesitate to include it among his works unless new arguments are brought forward which I have overlooked."<sup>14</sup> He believes the saga to have been composed early in the period 1220-1235, probably before the composition of *Ólafs saga helga*.

There the case rested until 1941, when, on the occasion of the septcentenary of Snorri's death at Reykholt, September 23, 1241, Sigurður Nordal published a notable essay on Snorri Sturluson.<sup>15</sup> The essay was designed as a substitute for a new book on Snorri planned for 1941 but never written, and was intended to correct many things in the 1920 work. Halfway through the essay Nordal refers to

one of the conclusions of recent research which concerns a new estimate of Snorri Sturluson and his writings and the question of the age of the Family Sagas. . . . It was then [i.e., 1920] believed that all the Family Sagas were written before 1200 and among those the best and most polished and that only a few could be later than 1220. Further, these sagas were "primitive" in art and composition—although remarkable in every respect—and would have proved themselves to be even more "primitive" if they had been preserved for us in their original form. Yet some of them, which are obviously old in their subject matter, had clearly been altered considerably in later re-writings.<sup>16</sup>

After explaining the effect this view had on his own work at the time, he continues:

<sup>13</sup> *Egils saga*, paragraph 6 of the Introduction, pp. lxx-xcv.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xciii.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 8 *supra*.

<sup>16</sup> "Snorri Sturluson," *Skírnir* (1941), p. 20.



We now believe that the earliest Family Sagas, *Heiðarviga saga* and *Fóstbroeðra saga*, were composed between 1200 and 1210 and the latest sagas about the middle of the fourteenth century. Thus they lasted somewhat longer than the Kings Sagas and enjoyed a more varied development. During the whole 140-150 years that people were busy with sagas, new sagas or *thaettir* were written and earlier sagas were re-written and re-arranged—improved or spoiled according to the changing tastes. In this way sagas of many different kinds came into being; some primitive and not unlike the popular oral traditions; sagas excellently written in an antiquarian or historical spirit; romances which are sheer works of art, sometimes completely Icelandic in subject matter and texture, sometimes with a touch of foreign romantic fiction; sagas with native folklore subjects, troll sagas, robber sagas, and highly improbable sagas which derive their flavor from classical history or tales of chivalry; composite sagas in which the earlier subject matter and style are blended with later additions and alterations like rock strata from different periods. In this way we may catch a glimpse of the sensitivity of these sagas to many kinds of influences—from each other, from other groups of sagas, in fact, from everything which had happened in this land and which the people knew or had known. We now believe that they began to be written thirty to forty years later than the Kings Sagas. Some of the earliest Icelandic sagas—chiefly those stories of Icelanders abroad—were written in conjunction with the Kings Sagas: *Fóstbroeðra saga* and *Bjarnar saga Híttdaelakappa* with *Ólafs saga helga*, *Hallfreðar saga* with *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*. This absolutely inverts the judgment of Finnur Jónsson: the authors of the earliest writings about the Norse Kings had not learned from the Family Sagas, simply because these did not exist; on the contrary, the Family Sagas began with the example of the Kings Sagas before them and had their support for a long time during their early development.<sup>17</sup>

There follows a description of Snorri at Reykholt: the multifarious gifts which Fortune placed in his hands; his ability to know all kinds of men and to procure books, and the influence he must have had on Sturla Sigvatsson, Olaf Whiteskald, and Sturla Thórðarson.

We know, too, that Icelandic saga-writing, and cultural life generally, displayed after 1220 a continuous and developing quality which it did not possess before that date. It is as though it had reached the end of the period of disjointed efforts which had characterized the previous decades and that, in its place, emerged a clearer grasp in the handling of subject matter and a surer taste in its narration. Indeed, here is the natural sequel of all that had gone before. The same can be said of every new achievement once it is accomplished; but everything in the world does not proceed in orderly fashion. There is no law to explain why growth ceases and decay sets in. All history suggests that every step forward demands the exertions of a great man, particularly in cultural advances as important as those which were made in Icelandic literature in the thirteenth century. There is no man who towered over Icelandic cultural life during the period after 1220, except Snorri Sturluson. From the evidence found in his writings of his own development, he fulfills all the general and particular conditions of our thesis. The result was that his works set the standard of a new perfection and harmony and gave both to his contemporaries and the next generation a new standard and example. . . . When we read the distinguished Family Sagas which were written after 1230 we can assume that Snorri's Kings Sagas played a large part in the perfection to which they attained. But this assumption would be even more positive if we could believe that Snorri himself had made a bridge between the two kinds of sagas when he used the knowledge which he had gained

<sup>17</sup> "Snorri Sturluson," *Skirnir* (1941), p. 22.

by soaking himself in the Kings Sagas to write one Family Saga which was far superior to any saga which had been written before, viz., *Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar*.<sup>18</sup>

After this preliminary survey and a brief summary of the case for Snorri's authorship, Professor Nordal takes up the case where it was left in 1933.

Here I shall refer generally to one of the points which have become clearer to me in recent years and have selected it not as a debating point but because it deals with one of his chief characteristics as a saga-writer. . . . Modern people, and particularly foreigners who are seldom completely at home with the Icelandic language, are apt to hold a high opinion of the old sagas for some qualities in them which do not really justify it. Because of this, among other things, arose the great mistake that the sagas composed themselves, possessing no authors of their own, and then this initial error blinded men to the idiosyncrasies of a particular author. Even such persons will not deny that the author of *Heimskringla* has left his mark on the saga and that it is permissible to study that work in order to discover Snorri's characteristics as a saga-writer. Among such qualities are his sure judgment of sources, his powers of characterization, his sure taste, his personal style, and his control of the arrangement and treatment of his subject matter. We can still find his equal in any one of these qualities, although there is no other saga-writer who possesses them altogether in the same balance and proportion. Yet there is one quality which he did not inherit from his predecessors and which his successors have not learned from him to any noticeable extent. This is his pragmatism: the need and the ability to sift the causes and results of events and not to give up until they have been understood and interpreted. In illustration of this it is sufficient to mention the debates of the Upland Kings when they join forces with Saint Olaf, and later, when they revolt against him; or how a case is made out for Olaf's opponents before the Battle of Sticklestad and how the supports melted away when his sanctity was so swiftly praised by some of his opponents; or the comparison between Olaf and Harald *hardráði*, or the explanation why Harald could not maintain his rule in Denmark although he had defeated Svein Ulfsson in every battle. All this points to one thing, that Snorri, his outstanding intellect apart, had gained from his many-sided experience as a chieftain the wide vision of the arbitrator and that impartiality of judgment which does not allow the feelings to over-ride the reason. In addition, I believe that he had learned a great deal from foreign classical historians, especially from Sallust who had taken Thucydides as his model.

If we now turn to *Egla*, it is perfectly clear how, as saga literature, it is distinct from all other Family Sagas. The first of its qualities is the author's ability to relate foreign events; for example, the causes and results of the Battle of Wineheath and the efforts to unite Norway. The second is his ability to depict kings and their way of thinking, especially Harald Hairfair, Eirík Bloodaxe, Gunnhilda the King's mother, and Haakon the Good. The third is the author's skill in illuminating both sides of a question so that we understand equally well the slander of the son of Hildiríði and its effect on King Harald, the pride of the King and the arrogance and rebellion of Thorolf Kveld-Ulfsson . . . the quarrel of Arinbjörn hersir and Queen Gunnhilda over Egil at York without being able to decide which has the better case . . . Egil shown displaying force against Onund sjóna and Steinar, but his decision explained in historical perspective. At the same time we can see how the history of Iceland develops under the author's general view of history and how the subject is sketched with the same sure touch found in Snorri's *Heimskringla*. In other Icelandic sagas the

<sup>18</sup> "Snorri Sturluson," *Skirnir* (1941), p. 24.



descriptions of events outside Iceland are generally unconvincing, sometimes childish, and never go beyond what directly concerns the Icelandic saga characters. Even in such notable works as *Eyrbyggja*, *Hrafnkatla* and *Njála* there are passages which the author of *Egils saga* would have written differently and with a better understanding of what he was doing: for example, the struggle of Snorri godi for control of the Dales, the developing power of Hrafnkel at Hrafnkelsstaðir and the slander of Mord Valgardsson.

I now consider it proved conclusively that Snorri Sturluson was the author of *Egils saga*, but I would not think of reproaching those who flatly deny it. . . . It is much more necessary for me to regret that I once wrote a book about Snorri without knowing this.<sup>19</sup>

(2) *Heiðarviga saga*<sup>20</sup> presents special difficulties because of the imperfect state of the manuscript, but it is probably the oldest Family Saga, and is, as Guðbrandur Vígfusson said, "a celebrated story which, if perfect, would be perhaps the best specimen of an antique saga we have, with a plot of the true old type centering around a famous blood-feud, and a style incoherent through the writer's lack of skill in prose composition, which was as yet a new art."<sup>21</sup> Nordal believes that the saga was written at Thingeyrar Monastery, "later than Olaf the monk's saga of Ólaf Tryggvason and just after 1200."<sup>22</sup> The author is neither a fool nor a bungler, and although we must guard against the belief that all saga-writers were equally gifted, "it is best to assume that the defects of this saga arise because he was attempting a new kind of literature with no clear examples to guide him. Here a pioneer is at work, and the authors who followed him and had his work as a warning and a guide were better qualified for their tasks."<sup>23</sup>

There seems to be no evidence that the story had been given a fixed form in oral tradition. The saga seems to be based directly on oral traditions, and the author has had to sift stories from different districts, Húnathing, Borgarfirth, and Broadfirth. For this is "neither biography nor the story of a particular family or district, but a saga about the causes and consequences of a particular event,"<sup>24</sup> the Heath-slayings. The viewpoint of the teller seems to change according to the source of the information used; e.g., his attitude toward the Gislungar changes when the story deals, not with Gest, but with Hall and Bardi, while the source for the Heath-slayings seemed to have been taken from Borgarfirth and Broadfirth. Consequently, the author has

<sup>19</sup> "Snorri Sturluson," *Skírnir* (1941), p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> This subsection, and the next, are based on Nordal's Introduction to *Borgfirðinga sögur*. This subsection reconstructs the method of saga-writing before the composition of *Egla*; the next subsection gives one example of the greater freedom enjoyed by a saga-writer after the composition of *Egla*. Although this is the sole argument of both sections, I have tried to give as much evidence as possible of the various ways in which Nordal approaches the study of individual sagas on which his more general statements are made.

<sup>21</sup> *Sturlunga saga*, I (Oxford, 1878), liv.

<sup>22</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, pp. cxliii-iv.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cxxxvi.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cxxxix.

much realistic—at times, commonplace—detail at his command; e.g., six chapters are given to the main incident. Ordinary events with no effect on the story are thrown in, reminding one at many points of *Guðmundar saga dýra*. The author has not made the most of his material. Compare, for instance, the use made of Thorarin's foresight with that made of Njál's foreknowledge, the one, matter of fact and commonplace, the other, artistic, lifting the story to the level of a fight against Fate itself.

But the author is not a cipher. He has a personal way of interposing himself between the reader and reported conversations; he presents the character of Thurid with a fine comic touch, and his style, seeking for the colloquial<sup>25</sup> and employing the same words and phrases repeatedly, keeps us in touch with a living author. At times he values highly the worth of his own sources and dates the Heath-slayings in 1018 rather than in 1014. It is probably true that "the author did not know how to compare the events of the saga accurately with the period or the date of death of famous men—a common error in Icelandic sagas, not always in the eldest"<sup>26</sup>—but the pioneer can here be seen and also admired.

Traces of written sources are hard to find, although, on the other hand, this saga was known and much used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but Professor Nordal suggests that, since the subject matter is far removed from that of the Kings Sagas, and since the author seems to have had abundant material at his disposal, it was not to be expected that such sources would be available. Even so, there is an unnecessary reference to St. Olaf in Chapter 39, and the phrase *sem í skóg saei* might have been taken from the "oldest" saga of St. Olaf.<sup>27</sup> Then, very tentatively, he puts forward a general argument based on the use of verses in this saga. There are two groups of *vísur* in this saga: (1) those which are pure invention of men from a period later than the time when the saga events took place and such verses were supposed to have been composed. Because of the similarity between some lines in these *vísur* and verses which we know to have been available at Thingeyrar at this time, it is probable that the author of the saga, or his nearest source, had composed them himself and inserted them into the narrative. (2) And those which are much older than the narrative itself and which probably are attributed to their correct authors by the saga. These the author had used as his sources; e.g., the verses of Tind, Eirík, and Gest, although it is difficult to be positive when so little has been preserved. But even these verses were defective and the saga-author emended or altered them, introducing into them portions of verses which he had read and

<sup>25</sup> For example, the 190 uses of the word *nú* in the small space of the vellum fragment.

<sup>26</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, p. cxxvi.

<sup>27</sup> The phrase occurs on page 307 of the Fornrit edition. Nordal's arguments and examples are given on pages cxxxix-cxl.

memorized. Professor Nordal is well aware of the heresy of this view, conflicting as it does with his own long-held opinion, but he hopes that a renewed investigation of *lausavísur* in the Family Sagas will result. Thus the pattern of the saga-origin is clear: as B. M. Olsen said, "*Heiðarvíga saga* was one whole from the beginning,"<sup>28</sup> and we can see the author at work.

Since this was an early saga, little use seems to have been made by the author of *schedae* or briefs; the author seems to have had ample oral sources at his disposal. There is perhaps firmer ground for believing that *schedae* were used in the writing of *Bjarnar saga Hítadala-kappa* which Professor Nordal believes was composed around 1215-1220 in Hítardal, possibly under the aegis of Thorlak Ketilsson and his son Ketil. They were the men in that district most intimately connected with the saga events, and it is suggested that Ketil wrote down the saga which was outlined and, perhaps in part, dictated to him by his father.

The saga can be divided into three distinct sections. Chapters 1 to 9 form a fairy-story tale of Bjorn's adventures in Russia and Norway and his return to Iceland like a Prince Charming. This section, Nordal believes, is based on sources written or oral and need not be attributed to the author's invention, although the truth of the matter is dubious. Chapters 10 to 26 are marked by a change of style, from the fairy tale to the matter of fact. It tells, with total want of unity, of the dealings between Bjorn and Thord, who are poor men, lacking in glamour.

We need not waste time seeking the sources of this section. The seventeen chapters contain twenty-eight verses which must be the basis of the narrative. No creative writer of fiction could have composed such a shapeless, disjointed narrative. The basis for it must have been isolated oral traditions which had not been moulded into a continuous whole and the author was uncertain of the correct order in which to tell these snippets and doubtful of the true intervals between each incident.<sup>29</sup>

Chapters 27 to 34 deal with Bjorn and Thorstein Kuggason. This portion is well told, and although the realism of the middle section, which is the best part of the saga, peeps out on occasion, it is nearer the first section in tone. Nordal postulates a *Thorsteins saga Kuggasonar* which the author might have known, but which he embellished with material from oral tradition.

The chronology of the saga is at fault, particularly in the middle section, "but chronology has always been a weakness in popular scholarship. That of *Bjarnar saga* strongly suggests that it is unusually close to oral tradition and is among the oldest Family Sagas."<sup>30</sup> The verses, which are derived from Bjorn and Thord, are older than the

<sup>28</sup> *Safn*, VI, § 6, p. 191.

<sup>29</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, p. lxxix.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxxviii.

writing of the saga. Professor Nordal concludes that there are many things in the verses which are not present in the narrative, suggesting thereby that a great deal had been forgotten in the transmission of the oral tradition. Still much of the story of the dealings between Bjorn and Thord is preserved in the verses, and they are to be thanked that so much reposed in popular memory for two hundred years.

The author of *Bjarnar saga* probably knew something of Icelandic historical writing, and perhaps some Family Sagas, and this encouraged him to write a saga. "This is not the work of an innovator, but it is so unlike other extant sagas that it is difficult to point to written sources, and I have found no indication that any important incident has been borrowed from any Family Saga which might be earlier than this one."<sup>31</sup> He writes of events in Norway as though he did not know the Kings Sagas; the style is clerical and suggests acquaintance with some translations from Latin and has a tang of the *Agrip*. But for particular incidents it is difficult to say whether oral or written sources have been used. The author did not know *Egils saga*, but Nordal suggests that a *scheda* of the life of Bjorn might have been written by Runolf Dalksson and that this account might have been used by our author. He reconstructs the writing of the saga as follows: We have a saga based on the verses of Bjorn and Thord, together with the tales supporting and explaining the verses. These were preserved by Bjorn's descendants in memory of this great champion of Hítardal who fell in the prime of life and had written an encomium on St. Thomas the Apostle. To this were added tales (although inaccurate, tolerably old) of his foreign adventures, based on conclusions drawn from the verses. With the foundation of the monastery at Hítardal—an offshoot of Thingeyrar—between 1148 and 1168 and, in connection with this, the possible writing of the first account of Bjorn's life by Runolf Dalksson, men in the district turned their attention more and more to his fate, and it is probable that some short account based on the verses and fragmentary tales was written at the monastery some time before the saga was composed as a whole, although, unlike Runolf's first "life," this account dealt with matters which seemed hardly to merit the attention of a monk. Then, between 1215 and 1220, the saga was written by Thorlak and Ketil.

There are two arguments which influence this dating. First, the saga suggests a man who had read some books and had been influenced by them, a man cultured according to the standards of his day. Unlike, say, the author of *Reykdoela saga*, he does not trust implicitly in his oral traditions, and he displays a creative ability, particularly in the latter part of the saga, as though his powers had developed as he wrote. Second, the saga is in many ways among the most primitive of Family Sagas. The author is not always able to weld his material into a whole and, in particular, he finds it difficult to correlate

<sup>31</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, p. lxxix.

the verses and oral tradition. The author is weak in chronology and is neither so sound a scholar that he can reject many additions to the first section, nor so daring an artist that he can attempt to elevate the style of the middle section in consonance with what follows. These traits, together with the absence of any knowledge of Snorri's work and the possible knowledge of some of the Thingeyrar works, suggest the first fifteen or twenty years of saga-writing.

(3) Professor Nordal's introduction to *Hoensa-Thóris saga* should serve best to illustrate the way in which the study of the style and treatment of a saga can be used to understand more fully the possible debt of a saga to oral tradition and to assist one in estimating the date at which a saga was composed. The main incident in this saga—the burning of Blund-Ketil—is mentioned in Ari's *Islendingabók* in connection with Thord Gellir's Constitutional Reforms of 956. There are no *vísur* to support the saga, and Konrad Maurer,<sup>22</sup> B. M. Ólsen,<sup>23</sup> and here Nordal have been much exercised about the way Sturla Thórðarson used the evidence of the saga in his version of *Landnámabók*. There are eight major points of divergence between the saga and *Islendingabók*, but perhaps the most fundamental one is that while Ari states that Thorlak the son of Blund-Ketil was burned and that it was the relationship between Thorlak's son Herstein and Thord Gellir which brought the latter into the case, the saga maintains that Blund-Ketil himself was the victim and that Herstein was his son and not his grandson. On many of the other points of divergence Ari is so brief that an oral tradition in Borgarfirð might easily be assumed as the source of the saga-man's material. On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume the author's ignorance of Ari's work, since his book was well known at Reykholt in Snorri's day and probably even before, in the time of Magnus Pálsson who had married Ari's granddaughter.

Nordal believes that *Hoensa-Thóris saga* was written in Borgarfirð between 1250 and 1270, after Snorri's day, probably near or at Reykholt, by a cultured and well-read man. Such an author was not a scholar chained to his desk in isolation from the world around him, and it is plausible that the arrival of Ari's work at Reykholt had rekindled popular interest in the burning and that such latter-day traditions had been incorporated into the saga. This is a more acceptable suggestion than that the saga represents true traditions extant in Ari's day but of which he was in ignorance, since not only was Ari a most careful sifter of fact and painstaking collector of detail, but also since he was so much nearer in time to the sources of the tradition than the writer of the saga. It is most likely that the saga is a less trustworthy repository of historical truth than *Islendingabók* and that the differences between them are due to "inadvertence, misunderstandings

<sup>22</sup> *Über die Hoensa-Thóris saga* (Munich, 1871).

<sup>23</sup> *Landnåma og Hocnsa-Thóris saga*, Aarbøger (1905), pp. 63-80.

based on other sagas, and the desire to sacrifice facts in order to write a more entertaining and dramatic story."<sup>34</sup>

Among other things, three points in the saga suggest this view: the question of who was burned; the events leading up to the burning; and the marriage of Herstein which followed it and which brought Thord Gellir into the case. B. M. Ólsen has shown that the author had used written genealogies in Chapter One. These, like those used in *Egla*, were independent of any extant form of *Landnámabók*. In this genealogy there is a Blund-Ketil Geirsson; in *Islendingabók*, Thorkel the son of a Blund-Ketil was burned. The author of the saga seems to have concluded that they were one and the same man. Nordal, refusing to believe that this confusion of two Blund-Ketils is older than the author of the saga, tries to arrive at reasons for this confusion. This author in Reykholt must have known that Blund-Ketil Geirsson was a grandson of Skalla-Grím, though this relationship is nowhere mentioned in the saga. Beginning with Geir's marriage to Thorun the daughter of Skalla-Grím in 912, it is obvious that Herstein, the son of Thorlak Blundketilsson, could not have been fully grown and married in 962 since he was probably born between 955 and 960. But this was crucial for the author, since Herstein is the link with Thord Gellir, with Ari's account, and with the changes in the constitution. He seems to have avoided this dilemma by omitting Thorlak and the family from the story, and by allowing Blund-Ketil to be burned in his stead, although the real error must have lain in the confusion of two Blund-Ketils. Some such factor lies behind this main divergence which did not deceive Sturla Thórðarson who, in his version of *Landnámabók*, accounts for another Blund-Ketil, Ornlófsdóttir. Again, although Maurer had stressed the author's familiarity with Borgarfirðir, Nordal shows that the events leading up to the burning in Chapter 8<sup>35</sup> are both wrong in fact and difficult to believe. According to the saga, the men in the farms saw the company of Arngrim godi and Thorvald journeying from Northtongue to summon Blund-Ketil at Ornlófsdal, "and every man ran from his farm and was eager to help Blund-Ketil, so that a crowd of men were with him when the company of Arngrim and Thorvald arrived."<sup>36</sup> Then, after the summoning of Blund-Ketil and the unfortunate death of Helgi, Thorvald and his men ride to the edge of a wood, dismount, and await nightfall, while Blund-Ketil thanks his men for their help and sends them home. In actual fact there were only two farms from which men could have seen Thorvald's company and still have arrived at Ornlófsdal before them, since the journey of five kilometers would have taken Thorvald only three-quarters of an hour. Nor is it easy to see why Thorvald did not return the short distance to Northtongue and thus avoid possible

<sup>34</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, p. xxii.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.



detection by Blund-Ketil's spies. And why did the latter dismiss his men? Similar confusion of time and distance occurs after the burning,<sup>37</sup> although the author shows an intimate acquaintance with directions. Finally, it is difficult to understand how Herstein and Thorkel Welt could have deceived and fooled such a man as Thord Gellir, or to believe the saga account that all these events subsequent to the burning preceded Thord's knowledge of that event. These three examples must here suffice to indicate all those points in the saga which are not consonant with Ari's account or with a desire to show a faithful knowledge of the district.

Could such divergence be due to oral tradition?

Experience with other sagas has shown that it is difficult to reach conclusions about the nature of oral traditions since they are so unequal in content and form. Some are informative, others entertaining; some are just raw material for a story, loose and diffuse, while others are well told. Their contribution to the sagas is also unequal: a great deal in some; in others, there is no trace of them. And although scholars have tended to believe that most or all the deviations from verifiable accuracy in the older sagas are due to lapses of memory when the sagas were being preserved in oral form, this view accepts unquestioningly that truth and historical accuracy were all-important for saga-writers. This may have been one influence on their work, but equally strong—in some cases, stronger—was the desire to make the narrative entertaining and dramatic.<sup>38</sup>

*Hoensa-Thóris saga* bears less witness to oral tradition than many sagas: there are no *vísur* which might have remained unchanged; the author makes no use of conflicting opinions of the type *sumir segja . . . aðrir segja* discussed by E. Ó. Sveinsson in his *Um Njálu*<sup>39</sup> and so evident in *Reykdoela saga*, which seems to have had a great deal of oral tradition behind it. The tale is told as though by an omniscient author who has no doubts, and it enjoys complete unity of action with no irrelevant, inharmonious interpolations from oral sources, such as are found in the middle section of the admittedly much earlier *Heiðarvíga saga*. "In this respect it belongs to the same genre as *Hrafnkels saga* and other fictitious sagas."<sup>40</sup>

There are many things in the saga which would not have been accepted as true tradition by men in the district. The errors in distance and time mentioned above would have been contested by men on the spot. Thorvald's refusal of Blund-Ketil's offer of self-doom is obviously unlikely and is the only example in the old sagas of self-doom being refused when offered. The ferocity of the burning, when "every living soul" was burned, belies the insignificance of all that led

<sup>37</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>39</sup> Einar Ólaf Sveinsson, *Um Njálu*, I (R'vik, 1933), 195-98. The second volume of this work, which will deal with the literary value of *Njáls saga*, has not yet appeared. This first volume is a detailed study of the sources and leads to the conclusion that the saga was conceived and written as a whole and owes nothing to earlier hypothetical sagas.

<sup>40</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, p. xxix.



up to the event. These, and much more, would not have passed muster in oral tradition. Professor Nordal maintains that, although local traditions may have been absorbed by the saga, they are very difficult to trace, and it is better to assume that the author subordinated his material to his own desire to write fiction around a historical fact. Thus, many things fall into place. The confusion over the two Blund-Ketils is due to a misunderstanding of sources; the errors in time and distance are intentional and dramatic, in that the author wants to show how popular Ketil was and, at the same time, how deep was the desire for revenge, since the attackers waited all day to accomplish it; the incredible timing after the burning was intended to keep the news from Thord Gellir—a weak but vital link in the whole story; the farce of Herstein's marriage is a clumsy attempt to link Thord with the case; while, finally, the errors over self-doom underline the generosity of Blund-Ketil. At the same time there is plenty of evidence to show what kind of man the author was. The first eleven chapters are well told at great speed, in contrast with the leisurely preparation for the battle at the Althing, punctuated by the clever inset of Thorir's end; after this the last two chapters are well done. But the author is at his best in describing small events of everyday life. The story of the burning is poor, brief, and dull, but Chapters 4 and 5 are masterpieces of clarity and realism, and the conversation between Thorir and Thorvald is masterly, even though we regret that the grand style is beyond the author. For, although the saga deals with horrible and tragic deeds, the author has little art to arouse the reader's compassion and even in the laconic style, so near to everyday speech, there is an underlying note of comedy. Free from the influences of continental tales of chivalry and handicapped by the lack of poetic insight, it is at its own level a competent and entertaining piece of work.

The author's obvious intimacy with places in Borgarfirth, the fact that Thord Gellir is introduced by name and not by kin, the references which indicate that it was written from the geographical location of a writer of south of White River—all this, together with deductions based on the knowledge displayed of *Egils saga* and Sturla's use of it around 1280, suggests Reykholt as the probable place of composition and 1250-1270 as the limits of its date.

This agrees with the characteristics of the saga and its relation to other works. Undoubtedly the author had read a great number of older sagas, and his narrative art suggests that saga-writing had been considerably practiced before his day. He wrote this saga when the authors of Family Sagas were bolder in inventing fiction than they had been during the first half of the thirteenth century. Thus it belongs to the same genre as *Bandamanna saga* and *Hrafnkels saga*.<sup>41</sup>

The taste of the author may explain its freedom from the influence of Southern *Riddara sögur* and from *Fornaldarsögur*, but this suggests a saga older than either *Gunnlaugs saga* or *Njála*. The author's sense

<sup>41</sup> *Borgfirðinga sögur*, p. xxx.

of dramatic fitness, his over-riding facts, suggests that he was not playing with well-known popular traditions, but creating something new for himself. The defects in the tale are defects in the author's mind and skill, and are so uniform that we can almost recognize the man.

These two subsections on Sigurður Nordal's treatment of *Heiðarvíga saga*, *Bjarnar saga*, and *Hoensa-Thóris saga* concludes my brief summary of what Stefan Einarson calls "one of the most instructive chapters in the literary history of the sagas."<sup>42</sup> We must now turn to an even more important chapter, Professor Nordal's full analysis of *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*. Since many of the principles on which this monograph is based have already been elucidated above, this next section will be briefer than the subject deserves. It really should be studied in its entirety by all students of the Family Sagas.

(To be concluded in December issue)

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<sup>42</sup> Review of *Borgfirðinga sögur* in *JEGP*, XXXVIII (1939), 287.

## CULT AND INITIATES IN FORD'S *LOVE'S SACRIFICE*

By PETER URE

Ford's tragedy *Love's Sacrifice* was probably written between 1625 and 1628; we do not know when it was first performed. It was printed in the same year as Ford's two masterpieces *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and *The Broken Heart* (1653).<sup>1</sup> "My ambition herein aims at a faire flight," wrote the dramatist in dedicating the play to his "truest friend," his cousin John Ford of Gray's Inn.

The central theme of the play is a triangular situation involving Phillippo Caraffa, Duke of Pavy, his Duchess, Biancha, and the young Fernando, described in the list of speakers as "favorite to the Duke." The main events of the tragedy can be briefly told. Biancha was the daughter of a commoner of Milan raised to her exalted position owing to a chance meeting with Pavy (I, i, 190-99).<sup>2</sup> When the Duke enters on the scene he couples the name of Biancha with that of Fernando in a glowing apostrophe to his beloved and his friend, and justifies his marriage to those of his counsellors, and especially to his sister, the widowed Fiormonda, who had opposed it as unfitting (I, i, 211-19, 269-87). At a second meeting with Biancha, Fernando shows that he has been strongly affected by the beauty of the new Duchess; he has, in the meantime, been the unwilling recipient of the advances of Fiormonda. In the second act the favorite woos Biancha, although fully conscious of the way in which he is betraying his friend the Duke, and even unwittingly reveals his passion to the spy d'Avolos, a Iago-like figure who is in league with Fiormonda. On a second occasion (II, iii) Fernando is so impressed by Biancha's horrified rejection of his suit that he undertakes never again to repeat the attempt. But the same night Biancha enters his bedchamber and offers herself to him on the strange condition that, should he take advantage of her offer, she will kill herself before morning. Together they swear, not to renounce each other, but to conduct a purely Platonic relationship (II, iv). Warned by d'Avolos of what is going on and urged also by Fiormonda, whose original hatred of Biancha because of her lowly birth is inflamed by her love for Fernando, the Duke heaps reproaches and threats upon Biancha. Next, he spies upon the Platonic lovers, who meet at night in Biancha's bedchamber after the approved fashion of such lovers. The sight is too much for the husband: he seizes upon Biancha as a "shameless harlot" (V, i, 2423)

<sup>1</sup> M. Joan Sargeant, *John Ford* (1935), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The text used is that of Bang in *Materialen*, XXIII (1908). Act and scene references are given according to the Mermaid Edition, ed. Havelock Ellis, and line references according to Bang.

and finally stabs her to death. Fernando tells him in a later scene how groundless have been his jealous suspicions, and the Duke, now repentant, repairs to "offer up the sacrifice of bleeding teares" at Biancha's tomb. Fernando emerges from the tomb in a winding-sheet and drinks off a phial of poison. Over the body of his faithful friend, and in the tomb which has now become an "altar," the Duke concludes the action by stabbing himself, after giving directions that the three bodies should be interred together.

The theme (and on frequent occasions the style) of the main plot of the play is of the extravagant type which we associate with the Caroline courtly romances of such dramatists as Carliell, Cartwright, and Killigrew, although it antedates most of these, and never indeed attains to the high-minded dialectic and ethical complexities of the fully-developed courtly drama.<sup>3</sup> It can be explained and criticized, like practically all Ford's extant plays except *Perkin Warbeck*, on two levels—as sensational and decadent, symptomatic of a "moral collapse,"<sup>4</sup> or as a problem play concerned with exploring the conflict set up between marriage and a love which falls outside marriage and challenges the "laws of conscience and of civil use," which are similarly defied by the incestuous lovers in *'Tis Pity* and by the "strumpeted" Penthea in *The Broken Heart*.<sup>5</sup> More recently, in *The Tragic Muse of John Ford* (1944) Professor Sensabaugh has produced an elaborate justification of the "modernism" perceived by many critics in Ford's work. Sensabaugh analyzes the character of the Duke as a clinical picture of jealousy drawn from Burton, who certainly did influence Ford in the presentation of many of his characters and one at least of his dramatic devices; and the conduct of the pair of lovers and indeed the whole Platonic creed by which they are affected is seen by Sensabaugh as an argument "for unbridled individualism in matters of marriage and love."<sup>6</sup> Sensabaugh also concludes from Ford's use of Burton, not only in *Love's Sacrifice* but in most of his other plays, that Ford shared Burton's "scientific determinism" and that this is reflected in his conception of dramatic character:

What Freud seems to have done for Eugene O'Neill, Burton accomplished for John Ford; for both playwrights insist that character is determined by forces beyond human control. In this insistence upon the physical basis of character Ford removes human activity from the realm of ethical choice and, anticipating the exponents of modern thought, looks at life with amoral eyes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The fullest account of the courtly romance is to be found in A. R. Harbage, *Cavalier Drama* (New York, 1936).

<sup>4</sup> The phrase is Havelock Ellis' in *Mermaid Edition*, p. xii.

<sup>5</sup> This view is most clearly advanced by S. P. Sherman in his essay on "Ford's Contribution to the Decadence of the Drama," *Bang's Materialien*, XXIII, p. xi.

<sup>6</sup> *The Tragic Muse of John Ford* (Stanford University, 1944), p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70. Compare the summary on pp. 92-93 and the statement that Fernando "runs to despair and confusion because of immutable physical laws."

So far as concerns a reëxamination of *Love's Sacrifice* there would seem to be some danger of false emphases here. The relationship between Fernando and Biancha is certainly one variant of the Platonic cult. But this cult is nowhere elaborated by Ford to the degree in which it is found in the later Caroline drama. Ford's Platonism, whatever its nature, and whether or not the Platonic cult may be justifiably regarded as implying an ethic of unbridled individualism, never attains to that "Platonism given a gallant and courtly twist" which may be found in the work of a Cartwright,<sup>8</sup> whose plays show a preoccupation with the metaphysic of love in its most advanced form.<sup>9</sup> The dialectic of a play like Suckling's *Aglaura*, where Platonic and anti-Platonic argue out the terms of the faith, the Platonic "moral" of Killigrew's *Prisoners*, the exquisitely disciplined acceptance of a rival in love which the courtly Platonic could and should practice<sup>10</sup>—all refinements of this sort are foreign to Ford's art. Ford, it is true, makes use of the courtly love jargon, as Sensabaugh points out; he also makes fun of it, like the equivocal Davenant, and he does not use it for extended debates on the metaphysic of love, which are not found in his work.<sup>11</sup> *Love's Sacrifice* itself is too early, and Ford is not the kind of dramatist to exemplify the more recondite manifestations of the cult, which was not displayed to the outer world in all its elaborate artificiality until Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise* was acted at court in 1633.

The conduct of Fernando and Biancha is, however, worth examining in order that we may try to discover their exact relationship to the theme of Platonic love. At first, Fernando's love for the Duchess is almost violently normal and passionate. Before he meets her, her beauty is emphasized by both Petruchio and the Duke himself (and personal beauty, as the cult of the "deformed mistress" shows, was sometimes considered disadvantageous by initiates), and it is this beauty that ensnares him:

Oh had I *India's* gold, I'de giue it all  
T'exchange one priuate word, one minutes breath  
With this hart-wounding beauty. (I, ii, 606-08)

<sup>8</sup> The phrase is Upham's in *The French Influence on English Literature* (1911), p. 331.

<sup>9</sup> For example, the discussions between Atossa and Arsamnes in *The Royall Slave* and similar discussions in *The Lady Errant*. *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies with other Poems* (London, 1651), pp. 124 f., 25 f., 30 f., 59 f.

<sup>10</sup> The refinements mentioned and here taken as typical excesses of the fully developed cult when it is mirrored in the drama may be found in Suckling's *Aglaura*, I, v (*Works*, ed. A Hamilton Thompson [1910], p. 92, and cf. II, ii, of the same play, *ibid.*, p. 100); Killigrew's *Prisoners*, IV, i (*Comedies and Tragedies* [London, 1664]); Davenant's *Love and Honour*, IV, i (*Dramatic Works*, ed. Maidment and Logan [Edinburgh and London, 1872-1874], III, 169).

<sup>11</sup> Of the examples cited by Sensabaugh as debates in love jargon (*Lover's Melancholy*, III, i, 1158-85; *The Fancies Chaste and Noble*, III, 1170 f.; *The Lady's Trial*, II, 1043-55), the first two are direct ridicule of the love jargon, while the third is merely an excessively flowery speech.



... day comes on,  
 What now we leaue vnfinish'd of content  
 Each hour shall perfect up: Sweet, let's part. *Kisse*  
 (II, iv, 1375-77)

They exchange a Platonic kiss and swear to be faithful to one another — "Your most faithful seruant," cries Fernando in parting from her.

But Ford goes on to show that this Platonic situation, so rapidly and perfunctorily attained, is threatened at the outset by the weakness of Biancha, who is not the true courtly initiate sometimes found in the later drama. The first sign is when we see Biancha, losing control over her emotions, wipe Fernando's lip with a handkerchief and threaten to "steale a kisse" (III, iii, 1604) in the very presence of the Duke and the watchful d'Avolos. On the next occasion, much later in the play, when we see Biancha and Fernando alone together, they are in the approved attitude of Platonic dalliance, but Biancha is on the verge of breaking away altogether from her previous vows:

Why shouldst thou not be mine? why should the laws  
 The Iron lawes of Ceremony, barre  
 Mutuall embraces? . . .  
 I had rather change my life  
 With any waiting-woman in the land,  
 To purchase one nights rest with thee *Fernando*,  
 Then be *Caraffa's* Spouse a thousand yeares. (V, i, 2353-62)

The mutual kisses which they now exchange are interrupted by the entry of the enraged Duke. In the final interview with her husband, Biancha proudly avows the physical nature of her passion for Fernando. The "unbridled individualism" of Biancha is shown not in her obedience to the Platonic love-ethic but in her disobedience to it. Physical intercourse, except in the eyes of the numerous satirists of the fad (and one can never be quite certain when Davenant, for example, is writing as cultist or as satirist), is not the end towards which the Platonism of the coterie tended: it only seemed to non-initiates that this might be its end because so much physical dalliance could be involved in it as well as the possibility of one woman having any number of "servants." To the idealists of the coterie whom we find mirrored in the later drama this misrepresentation of their creed as something which led to unbridled individualism expressed in promiscuous love-affairs was often a matter of indifference, since it was the ignorant blasphemy of laymen. Biancha's feeble attempt at the Platonic relationship breaks down at an early stage, and after that her love is eager to follow the accepted course of an adulterous passion. She may consider, like Giovanni or Penthea, that her love is superior to the marriage-tie and the "laws of conscience and of civil use," but this is consequent upon her abandonment of the "chaste freedoms" of the Platonic cult.

Closely related to the Platonic cult, in *Love's Sacrifice* and in scores of other plays, is the romantic relationship between male



friends.<sup>12</sup> There are, of course, many expressions of this in the drama prior to the play we are considering: Fletcher, for example, makes it a continual source of dramatic interest and conflict in *Valentinian*.<sup>13</sup> The friendship theme expands and revivifies in the congenial atmosphere of Platonic *préciosité*: plays like Heywood's *Challenge for Beauty* (?1635), Brome's *Love-Sick Court* (?1640) or Shirley's *Court-Secret* (1642) treat the theme with a ludicrous extravagance of expression which is nearly as foreign to Fletcher as it is to Ford. In *Love's Sacrifice* Fernando is the protégé of the Duke, and this fact at first inhibits his passion for the Duke's wife:

she's bosomed to my friend:  
There, there, I am quite lost. . . (II, ii, 864-65)

It is the recollection of this friendship which makes the tortures undergone by the jealous Duke so exquisitely painful (IV, i, 1928 ff.). The relationship in which he stands to the Duke may well be considered Fernando's primary motive for refraining in the crucial scene from profanation of the "sacred temple" which is Biancha with his "wanton appetite." Biancha, too, assures the Duke that it is this friendship which has acted as a restraint upon Fernando:

I must confesse I mist no means, no time,  
To winne him to my bosome; but so much,  
So holily, with such Religion,  
He kept the lawes of friendship that my sute  
Was held but, in comparison, a iest;  
Nor did I offer vrge the violence  
Of my affection, but as oft he vrg'd  
The sacred vowes of faith 'twixt friend and friend.  
(V, i, 2485-92)

And with almost her dying breath she pleads with her husband to "spare thy noble friend." If Biancha's statement is true, the Duke's slaughter of her is therefore a double injury—to her "chastity" and to heroic friendship as well. The point is important because, if rightly emphasized, it makes the whole play less of a "remarkable instance of confusing moral values" than it has generally been taken to be.<sup>14</sup> The claims of friendship, which were apparently binding on Fernando after all, taken in conjunction with the allowance that must be made for the fact that it was accepted practice for Platonic lovers to meet in situations and attitudes which to a non-initiate like d'Avolos or the jealous Duke, might suggest wantonness, imply that Biancha's

<sup>12</sup> It is not surprising that the themes of friendship and Platonic love should be frequently found in conjunction when we consider that in their origin in the *Symposium* they can be said to be identical.

<sup>13</sup> The most extended example of the conflict is to be found in Maximus' speech in *Valentinian*, III, iii. *Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1906), IV.

<sup>14</sup> The phrase is that of F. S. Boas in *Introduction to Stuart Drama* (London, 1946), p. 342.

chastity is not so much a technical matter as a state protected by formidable moral restraints on the part of Fernando. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that only Biancha had attempted to bring the dalliance to a physical consummation, and that Fernando had continually proved unwilling—the reverse of an “unbridled individual.”

This point can be made clearer by a reëxamination of the vital interview between the lovers before the Duke's entry in the first scene of the fifth act. The crucial lines are as follows in Bang's text:

*Bia.* . . . I had rather change my life  
With any waiting-woman in the land,  
To purchase one nights rest with thee *Fernando*,  
Then be *Caraffa's* Spouse a thousand yeares.  
*Fior.* Treason to wedlocke, this would make you sweat.  
*Fer.* Lady of all, what I am, as before,  
To suruiue you, or I will see you first,  
Or widowed or buried; if the last,  
By all the comfort I can wish to tast  
By your fair eyes, that sepulcher that holds  
Your Coffin, shall encoffin me aliuie:  
I signe it with this seale. ————— *Kisses her.*  
*Fior.* Ignoble strumpet.  
*Bian.* You shall not sweare, take off that oath againe,  
Or thus I will inforce it. ————— *Shee kisses him.*  
*Fer.* Vse that force,  
And make me periur'd; for whiles your lips  
Are made the booke, it is a sport to sweare,  
And glory to forswear.  
*Fior.* Here's fast and loose;  
Which for a Ducat, now the game's on foot.  
*Whiles they are kissing, Enter Duke with his sword drawne.*  
(V, i, 2359-80)

The lacunae at the beginning of Fernando's first speech are unfortunate and confusing, but, if my interpretation of his character is correct, Fernando has not threatened to murder the Duke but to wait until Biancha is a widow in the natural course of events before he attempts to consummate his love. Should she die before the Duke, he swears to die with her, and seals the oath with a chaste and Platonic kiss, like that given and bestowed in II, iv, 1378, whereat the spying Fiormonda, misunderstanding as usual, thinks the kiss a lascivious one. Biancha, urging, as she puts it later, the “violence of her affection,” cries to him to foreswear his oath (that is, the oath that he will maintain a purely Platonic relationship with her until, if ever, she is free to marry him) and returns his kiss, but not after the manner of Platonic dalliance. Fernando's response is equivocal, but does not really imply any departure from the stand he is taking. He is in a position somewhat similar to that of the unfortunate Paris, in Massinger's *Roman Actor*, who almost yields to the kisses of the wanton Empress

just after he has declared his absolute unwillingness to betray his master's faith: the Emperor breaks in upon them at the same moment that the Duke breaks in upon Fernando and Biancha.<sup>15</sup>

It seems, then, that Biancha only is the would-be adulteress. We are now in a position to examine the final crisis of the play, the deaths of the three main protagonists. Why is Biancha a voluntary sacrifice? She dies willingly because, since she cannot satisfy her passion for Fernando, further life is without meaning. She is thus a true example of "unbridled individualism," running on death as a release from her vain suffering. Her own attempts at Platonic restraint and her later attempts to overcome the similar restraints on the part of Fernando have both failed. Fernando's appearance in his winding sheet and his death within her tomb are an exact fulfillment of his oath to be encoffined alive in Biancha's sepulchre. Two lines in his last speech, crowded though it is with reproaches to the Duke, his false friend, show quite clearly what has been his guiding principle:

Had eager Lust intrunk'd my conquered soule,  
I had not buried liuing ioyes in death.

(V, iii, 2773-74)

That is, to expand and paraphrase, "If lust had really overcome my soul, and destroyed the purely Platonic nature of my love for Biancha as intercourse between two souls, I would not have died; but my death proves that it was not carnal enjoyment ["liuing ioyes"] that I sought but intercourse between souls." The implication is that Fernando's soul will now rejoice to find Biancha's in another sphere ("I come Biancha," are his dying words). The slowness of his death by poison is perhaps insisted upon by the dramatist because it emphasizes the destruction of the corporeal integument, the body that, in Chapman's words, is "but a thick cloud to our souls," and the consequent release of the pure soul. Fernando, then, emerges as a Platonist of a sort, although he is at no time the polished dialectician found in the plays of Cartwright or Davenant. As for the Duke, in his last speech he recollects too late the virtues of friendship which he now sees had animated Fernando, and ends his life as friendship's sacrifice as well as love's.

There are three kinds of sacrifice in the play: Biancha meets the end appropriate to the adulteress in intention, if not in act, in that she is punished by her husband; the Duke, who is no Platonic initiate, punishes his own faithlessness to his friend and the supposed wrongs done to his wife and goes to his grave without understanding either the wantonness of Biancha or the purity of Fernando, which are set forth against a background of the Platonic cult; while the true love's sacrifice dies as an idealistic practitioner of the closely related ethics of friendship and Platonic love, not as an individual running to "despair

<sup>15</sup> *Roman Actor*, IV, ii. *Plays of Massinger*, Mermaid edition, II, 63-64.

and confusion because of immutable physical laws." The play therefore preserves in the separate fates of the main protagonists a consistent ethical scheme, although it is not one which is either so complete or so complex as many found in the true courtly drama of the metaphysic of love. It is significant that, at the end of the play, the bridegroom Roseilli announces to his bride Fiormonda, whose misunderstanding of the Platonic code has been a principal cause of the tragedy, his intention to "dismissinge The mutuall comforts of our marriage-bed." And Fiormonda sadly replies:

... since lust hath made me foule,  
Henceforth I'll dresse my Bride-bed in my soule.  
(V, iii, 2885-86)

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## THE EARLY HISTORY OF THOMSON'S *LIBERTY*

By ALAN DUGALD MCKILLOP

A full account of James Thomson's *Liberty* would include some consideration of the poet's studies in connection with his travels on the Continent, whence came his over-ambitious plan of presenting a progress of liberty which should be at the same time a progress of culture. But the present article limits itself to the early history of the poem, including its textual history, through the year 1738. Exact dates of composition are not known, but an important letter discovered by Professor Helen Sard Hughes at Alnwick, sent by Thomson to Lady Hertford from Paris, October 10, 1732, parallels closely certain ideas and themes of Part I of *Liberty*, and may indicate that actual composition had begun by that date.<sup>1</sup> It is usually said that Thomson and his pupil Talbot returned suddenly from Rome toward the end of 1731, but this is merely an inference from a letter by Thomas Rundle dated simply "Ashdown-Park, Friday Morning, 1731."<sup>2</sup> The newly discovered letter makes it possible to assume either that Thomson's grand tour extended through the year 1732, or that after a sudden return to England at the end of 1731 he embarked on a second journey. There is little real difference between the alternatives, for the letter from Paris is full of the impressions from Italy that went into *Liberty*. In this connection we should consider also a passage in a letter from Pope to Hill, to be dated November 13, 1733. After acknowledging a translation of Voltaire which Hill had sent, Pope continues: "This short Acknowledgment is all I can make just now; I am just taken up by Mr. Thomson, in the Perusal of a new Poem he has brought me: I wish you were with us."<sup>3</sup> The "new Poem" must be the early part of *Liberty*, but this can hardly be called a glimpse of Thomson at work.

<sup>1</sup> Helen Sard Hughes, "Thomson and the Countess of Hertford," *MP*, XXV (1928), 454-57; *The Gentle Hertford* (New York, 1940), pp. 24, 432. Such a letter might of course either precede or follow the actual writing of the verses which it paralleled. Other examples in Thomson's correspondence, however, lead me to believe that he was likely to write a letter of this kind with the verses before him. Cf. his letter to William Cranstoun, September, 1725, quoting and paraphrasing *Winter* (Alan D. McKillop, *The Background of Thomson's Seasons* [Minneapolis, 1942], pp. 2-3). Another instance has recently been pointed out and discussed by Horace E. Hamilton ("James Thomson Recollects Hagley Park," *MLN*, LXII [1947], 194-97); Thomson's letter to Miss Young from Hagley, August 29, 1743, shows verbal parallels with the description of Hagley added to the 1744 text of *Spring*. Here too it seems probable, though we cannot be certain, that the letter follows the verses.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of the Late Thomas Rundle, LL.D., to Mrs. Barbara Sandys* (Gloucester, 1789), II, 181.

<sup>3</sup> *A Collection of Letters Written to the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.* (London, 1751), p. 27. Here dated November 13, 1732, but corrected to 1733 in Elwin-Courthope, X, 51.

The letter of October 10, 1732, also connects with the pre-history of *Liberty* by describing an early step taken toward securing the patronage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to whom the poem was finally dedicated:

Give me leave to return you my most humble acknowledgement for the honour you did me in presenting my Book to the Prince of Wales. I wish it had been something more worthy of you to present, and of him to read. The approbation he was pleased to give a first Imperfect essay does not so much flatter my vanity as my hopes, of seeing the fine arts flourish under a Prince of his so noble equal humane and generous disposition; who knows how to unite the sovereignty of the Prince with the liberty of the People, and to found his happiness and Glory on the publick good. oh happy as a God he who has it both in his hand and his heart to make a people happy!

Evidently Lady Hertford was an important intermediary between the poet and the Prince. Possibly the book she presented was the subscription *Seasons* of 1730, and Thomson's phrase "a first Imperfect essay" may refer particularly to *Britannia*, which had paid high tribute to Frederick on his arrival in England at the end of 1728 and which was included in revised form in the 1730 *Seasons*.<sup>4</sup> In *Britannia* Thomson had bracketed together liberty and royal patronage of the arts, and the quotation just given may echo these lines:

And may a publick spirit from the Throne,  
Where every Virtue sits, go copious forth  
Live o'er the land! the finer Arts inspire.<sup>5</sup>

This letter then may serve to remind us of the fact that *Britannia* points forward to *Liberty*, and that both poems are connected with the political fortunes of the Prince.

Andrew Millar gave advance notice of the publication of *Liberty* in December, 1734 ("Speedily will be published"—London *Evening-Post*, December 10-12; *Daily Advertiser*, December 17). In the first week in January, Millar announced with the same precision he had used in his advertisements of Thomson's *Sophonisba* that the work would be published "on Friday next, the 10th Instant, at Ten o'Clock in the Morning" (*Daily Advertiser*, January 7, 1735). If any prospective buyers queued up in eager expectation, they were disappointed; to continue with dates from the *Daily Advertiser*, paralleled by the London *Evening-Post*, on January 10 came the announcement that the work would not be published until Monday next, and not until Monday, January 13, did the poem go on sale. The purchaser would then discover that what had been advertised simply as *Liberty: A Poem* was in reality *Antient and Modern Liberty Compared*, the first part of the poem. *Greece* appeared on February 7, *Rome* on March 24, with an announcement that the fourth part, *Britain*, would

<sup>4</sup> See John Edwin Wells, "Thomson's *Britannia*: Issues, Attribution, Date, Variants," *MP*, XL (1942), 52-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Britannia*, lines 277-80.

speedily be published; this part, however, did not appear until the middle of January, 1736, and the fifth and last part came out in the middle of the next month. The long interval between III and IV may have been due to indolence or lagging inspiration, but discouragingly slow sales may have had something to do with it. This part of the story is told in extracts from the ledger of the printer Woodfall, long ago printed by a correspondent in *Notes and Queries*, S. 1, XI (1855), 418-19, and cited by Léon Morel in his *James Thomson* (Paris, 1895), p. 105. Here we are told that 3,000 copies of Part I were printed, plus 250 on royal paper, 2,000 plus 250 of II and III, 1,000 plus 250 of IV and V. Thomson wrote Aaron Hill on May 11, 1736, that he was thinking of releasing his bookseller, "who would else be a considerable Loser, by the Paper, Printing, and Publication, of *Liberty*."<sup>6</sup>

A first edition of *Liberty*, then, consists of the series of five parts without general title page. With the publication of Part V, Millar offered "all the Parts compleat, in blue Paper and Boards," or "half bound," for six shillings. A full and accurate collation is given by Thomas J. Wise in *The Ashley Library*, VII, 172-74, and the details need not be repeated here. Part I is a quarto in half-sheets, the rest regular quartos. Wise does not report that there are variant half-titles, distinguished by different ornaments; one is regularly used for Parts I-III, the other for IV and V. To complete the account, moreover, some interesting points about the fine or royal-paper issue should be noted. This issue is the size of the quarto subscription *Seasons* of 1730. As the advertisements explained (*Daily Advertiser*, February 11, 1735-1736; *Fog's Weekly Journal*, February 14, 1736), "There are a few printed, for the Curious, on a superfine Royal Paper, the same Size of his Four Seasons; price 11s. which, with Sophonisba, (that will be publish'd in a few Days) completes the 2d Volume of his Works on the Royal Paper, in 4to. Any part of the large or small Paper may be had separate, to complete Gentlemens Sets." The royal-paper copies of the individual parts had been offered for sale on the respective dates of publication. All the parts of the regular issue have the price in parentheses below the imprint, one shilling for each part except IV, which is priced at one and six. There are no prices given on the title pages of the royal-paper issue. The regular practice with printings of Thomson's pieces to be sold separately was to put the price on the title page or on the half-title, but though copies of the royal-paper issue were offered for sale separately, they were intended primarily to make up Volume II of Thomson's *Works*, and this accounts for the omission of the price.<sup>7</sup> This Volume II, a rare item, is

<sup>6</sup> *A Collection of Letters Written to the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.*, p. 74. Hill's reply is printed in his *Works* (London, 1753), I, 229-38.

<sup>7</sup> It may also be noted that large or thick-paper author's copies, intended for presentation rather than sale, were usually issued without price either on title page or half-title; examples among Thomson's works are *Edward and Eleonora*



briefly described by Wells.<sup>8</sup> It consists of the royal-paper set of *Liberty* and the new printing of *Sophonisba*, and some later copies contain also Thomson's *Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable the Lord Talbot*. That is, there was a royal-paper issue of *Talbot* corresponding to the royal-paper issue of *Liberty* and similarly undscribed. Wise, in *The Ashley Library*, VII, 174, describes a copy of the ordinary issue. The royal-paper issue of course matches the quarto *Seasons* in size, and the "(Price 1s.)" is omitted below the imprint. Though offered for separate sale (*Daily Advertiser*, June 20, 1737) it was primarily intended, like the corresponding issues of *Liberty*, to be incorporated in the quarto Volume II.

In connection with *Liberty*, Woodfall enters in his ledger for January 29, 1735-1736, a charge for "Reprinting titles to Part I, and contents." This entry corresponds to the fact that the title page of Part I royal-paper has a printer's ornament different from that of the title page of the ordinary issue, and has moreover "Contents of Part I" on the verso, which is blank in the ordinary issue. In both issues the title page of Part II is followed by a leaf having "Contents of Part I" on the recto and "Contents of Part II" on the verso. The Part I title page with "Contents" on the verso would naturally be the later. The reprinting of this title page was no doubt connected with preparations for making up copies of the quarto Volume II.

The second edition of *Liberty* was not published separately, but was included in Volume II of the two-volume octavo edition of the *Works* published in June, 1738 (*Daily Advertiser*, June 20).<sup>9</sup> For this edition *Liberty* was printed continuously with *Talbot*, and separates of *Agamemnon* and later of *Edward and Elëonora* were bound up to complete the volume. It was offered separately to those who already had the octavo edition of *The Seasons* (plus *Britannia, Newton*, and later *Sophonisba*) obtainable in and after 1730. The quarto Volume II of 1736 had evidently not been moving rapidly, despite the fact that Woodfall's printing of the royal-paper issues would restrict this edition to less than 250 copies; it was still being offered for sale along with the new octavo in 1738 and 1739.<sup>10</sup> The simultaneous advertising of the *Works* in both quarto and octavo meant that unrevised and revised texts of *Liberty* were being offered for sale at the same time. Thomson and his booksellers had got themselves into a similar situation in 1730, when the revised text of *Spring* appeared

(1739) and *Alfred* (1740). For some comments on this practice, see Iolo A. Williams, *Points in Eighteenth-Century Verse* (London, 1734), pp. 47, 54-56, 144.

<sup>8</sup> "Thomson's 'Subscription' Seasons, 1730," *N&Q*, CLXXX (1941), 350; "Thomson's *Spring*: Early Editions True and False," *Library*, N.S., XXII (1942), 229 n.

<sup>9</sup> *CBEL*, II, 306, seems to imply separate publication by the entry, "Liberty, A Poem. 1738."

<sup>10</sup> *Common Sense*, 1738, *passim*, and at least as late as January 20, 1739.

in the quarto *Seasons*, and a remainder of the nominal "second edition" of 1729 was at the same time being used to make up octavo sets.

When Thomson wrote to Aaron Hill that he intended to release his bookseller, Andrew Millar, from a losing bargain in *Liberty*, he added, "As I shall, in this Case, be possess'd of the intire Property of it again, I propose, in a Year or two hence, to give a new Edition of it."<sup>11</sup> As a matter of fact, he carried out a fairly extensive revision of Part I and made a few significant changes in Part II, then dropped work on the project. At certain points in his career, usually in preparation for the appearance of a collected edition, Thomson seemed to be eager to revise his poems: one of the principal chapters of his literary life was the recasting of *The Seasons* in the early 1740's, important short poems like the *Hymn to Solitude*, *Britannia*, and *Newton* underwent significant changes, and it seems likely that further alteration of *The Castle of Indolence* was prevented only by his death. *Liberty* enlisted his interest for a time in 1738, and then benumbed his revising hand.

In preparing the posthumous 1750 edition of Thomson, Lord Lyttelton undertook a drastic revision of *Liberty* and *The Seasons* on his own account.<sup>12</sup> He coolly announced in a prefatory note to *Liberty*:

The following Poem being entirely of the historical and political kind, unornamented with fiction, except in a few lines, the Author was sensible of its being too long. It has been therefore considerably shortened, by reducing the five parts into three; the rather, because the matter of several verses now struck out here occurs in his other writings, and some, upon a revival, appeared not to be pertinent, or proper to the subject.<sup>13</sup>

This statement might lead the casual reader to believe that Thomson had abridged the poem himself, or at least had authorized the "revisal." Lyttelton's drastic operations need not be reported in detail here. Wells's count is that "from the 3378 verses of *Liberty* he omitted some 1450 lines."

Francis James Child remarks that *Liberty* is "a composition which has been seldom perused save by editors and proof-readers."<sup>14</sup> Even the editors, one may add, have never shown much zeal. In 1738 the Contents of Parts I and II were reprinted with the original line numbers, now made incorrect by the revision. The 1738 text was taken

<sup>11</sup> See above, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> For Lyttelton's "improvements" as far as they concern *The Seasons*, see John Edwin Wells, "Thomson's *Seasons* 'Corrected and Amended,'" *JEGP*, XLII (1943), 104-14. An amusing though probably inaccurate account of the transaction has recently appeared in *James Beattie's London Diary, 1773*, ed. Ralph S. Walker (Aberdeen, 1946), p. 53: Mrs. Montagu here reports that Mrs. Andrew Millar, the bookseller's wife, objected violently to the revisions sponsored by Lyttelton. It is characteristic of Beattie's anemic taste that he was in favor of refining Thomson's "harshest expressions and lines," and lamented the supposed loss of more extensive corrections, that is, of Lyttelton's post-1750 revisions.

<sup>13</sup> Thomson, *Works* (London, 1750), II [25].

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in *Library of Literary Criticism*, ed. C. W. Moulton, III, 263.

over by Murdoch in the edition of 1762 and is the basis of later editions, but it is a striking instance of the torpor which *Liberty* seems to induce that no one has undertaken to give the variant readings, and even such a competent editor as D. C. Tovey confesses that for his revision of the text of *Liberty* as printed in the second volume of the Aldine Edition he "has had no opportunity of comparing the text . . . with that of earlier editions."<sup>15</sup> J. Logie Robertson in the Oxford Edition gives an excellent text of *The Seasons*, recording almost all variants from 1726 to 1746 concisely and accurately; for *Liberty* he simply gives a careful reprint of the 1738 text, noting a few misprints. He also corrects the erroneous line numbers in the Contents of Parts I and II that had been handed down from generation to generation. His treatment of *Liberty*, indeed, is not particularly invidious; it was evidently his policy to record variants for no poem of Thomson's except *The Seasons*. In fact, I know of no complete record of the variant readings of *Solitude*, *Newton*, *Britannia*, or *Liberty*. Variants for *Liberty* are recorded here, except for a few obvious misprints. Since Robertson's is probably the most used modern text, the few instances in which his readings differ from those of 1738 are also included.

A—readings of 1735-36

B—readings of 1738

Robertson—readings of Oxford Edition, 1908

#### PART I

Contents A-B—Baia

Robertson—Baiae

A 11—Unblemish'd Honour, uncorrupted Faith

B 11—Honour disdaining Blemish, cordial Faith

A 13—turn'd

B 13—turn

A 17-20—Ten thousand Wonders rowling in my thought,

As the Great Scene of deathless deeds I tread,

Tread the blest Ground by more than mortals trod,

And see those Skies that breath'd the *Roman* Soul

[Not in B.]

A 21—Mean time wide-scatrer'd round

B 17—While scatter'd wide around

A 25-26—Of these Ideas full, reposing Sense

In slumber sunk, and Fancy's Magic hand

B 21-22—Snatch'd by these Wonders to that World where Thought

Unfetter'd ranges, Fancy's Magic Hand

A 35—Sublime her Port

B 31—Sublime of Port

<sup>15</sup> Thomson, *Poetical Works* (London, 1897), II, 2.

A 47—from the gloom disclos'd

B 43—rising from the Gloom

A 48—Painting my words, behold the scatter'd Scene

B 44—Mark the dread Scene, that paints whate'er I say

[Cf. Contents, Part I: An immediate Vision attends, and paints her Words —  
and also III, 1-2:

th' Ideal Forms,

That painted still whate'er the *Goddess* sung.]

A 53—swarming

B 49—quickning

A 55—For on her free-born Sons then Nature smil'd

B 51—For *Nature* Then smil'd on her free-born Sons

A 64—and purest Air

B 60—thro' purest Air

A 66—upwards

B 62—upward

A 70—Wav'd from the main, where *Alba* draws the Breeze

B 66—Where *Alba* breathes the Freshness of the Main

A 75—From sea to sea, her Public Roads behold

B 71—With Tombs of Heroes sacred, see her Roads

A 77—with Triumph green

B 73—with Triumph gay

A 79—While Tombs of Heroes consecrate the way

[Cf. B 71 above.]

A 86—To know a *Master's* voice. Astonish'd, mark

B 81—To rank obedient to a *Master's* Voice

A 87—Her Forum, earnest, popular, and loud

B 82—Her *Forum* see, warm, popular, and loud

A 95—whose best Reward

B 90—their best Reward

A 104—And of a Race by Plastic Virtue mark'd

B 99—And of a People cast in Virtue's Mold

A 107—All that to *Roman* Grandeur the soft Touch

B 102—All that to *Roman* Strength the softer Touch

A 114—Heaven and Earth

B 109—Earth and Heaven

A 119-21—With Classic Zeal, the consecrated Scenes

Of Men and Deeds to trace, the Wonder, Theme,

And Model of Mankind; unhappy Land!

B 114-15—With Classic Zeal, these consecrated Scenes

Of Men and Deeds to trace; unhappy Land

A 127—Sordid, and mean, where Life can scarce subsist

B 121—Where, mean, and sordid, Life can scarce subsist

A 132—Turn'd by thy Rage. From their uncheerful Bounds

B 126—Turn'd by thy Fury. From their cheerful Bounds

- A 139—Thine abhorrent flies  
 B 133—*thy* drear Champian flies
- A 176—Thro' the vile hedge the tender Myrtle twines  
 B 170—Thro' the vile Thorn the tender Myrtle twines
- A 197—A kind Oblivion breathing o'er their Woes  
 B 191—Breathing a kind Oblivion o'er their Woes
- A 200—her Sword  
 B 194—the Sword
- A 208—While the lone *Tyber*, thro' the desert Shore  
 B 202—While the lone *Tyber*, thro' the desert Plain
- A 216—And often joining to the drear abode  
 B 270 [for 210]—And oft adjoining to the drear Abode
- A 234—Even with thy labour'd *State*  
 B 228—Even with thy labour'd *Pomp*
- A 252—From these too drawn, mine is thy every Boast  
 B 246—*Mine* is, besides, *thy* every later Boast
- A 254—And mine the fair Designs, that RAPHAEL's soul  
 B 248—And *mine* the fair Designs, which RAPHAEL's soul
- A 258—with Seas of blood  
 B 252—by Seas of Blood
- A 262, B 256—You rush'd with rapture down the Gulph of Fate  
 Robertson—You rush with rapture down the gulf of fate
- A 266—That Nature  
 B 260—Which Nature
- A 292-93—First from your flatter'd CAESARS This begun;  
           Till houseless spreads, at last, the Syren Plain  
 B 286-88—First from your flatter'd CAESARS This began:  
           Till, doom'd to Tyrants an eternal Prey,  
           Thin-peopled spreads, at last, the Syren Plain
- A 337—Or, heart-consum'd, a Tyrant's rotten Pomp  
 B 332—Far less a thoughtless Tyrant's hollow Pomp
- A 342-43—Or every Harvest storing in thy Ports,  
           Profuse of all, to plow the dreadful Wave?  
 B 337-38—Or, storing every Harvest in thy Ports,  
           To plow the dreadful all-producing Wave?
- A 354—For thy proud Slave, alone  
 B 349—As *Thee* alone she *serves*
- A 369-80—There Truth, *unlicens'd*, walks; even Kings themselves  
           Invite her forth, the Monarchs of the Free!  
           By that best Glory pierc'd, that God-like Joy,  
           That gay Security, that Pride of Rule;  
           When Men, not Slaves, when all-performing Love,  
           Not sluggish Hate, and faithless Fear, obey.  
           Fix'd on my Rock, there an Indulgent Race  
           O'er BRITONS wield the Scepter of the Heart:

And, mixing Worth with Worth, the ROYAL PAIR  
To steady Justice yielding Goodness join.  
Nor sets the Prospect in this pleasing view;  
While there, . . .

- B 364-68—There TRUTH, *unlicens'd*, walks; and dares accost  
Even Kings themselves, the Monarchs of the Free!  
Fix'd on my Rock, There, an indulgent Race  
O'er BRITONS wield the Scepter of *their Choice*:  
And there, . . .

[Extensive changes are made here for political reasons. Both passages lead to the lines praising Prince Frederick as a future patron of the arts, animated by "the soul of Titus." But Frederick's open break with his father and his role as leader of the Opposition, clearly assumed by 1737, made it impossible for Thomson to continue to praise father and son at the same time. The death of Caroline in 1737 accounts for the disappearance of the reference to "the Royal Pair." It will be noticed further that Truth now "accosts" kings instead of being invited by them, and that the praise of royal magnanimity is much reduced in the later version. In a somewhat similar way, though not of course for exactly the same reasons, Thomson had reduced his compliments to George II and Caroline in *Britannia* (see Wells, *MP*, XL [1942], 52).]

A 399—In dread Succession

B 387—In long Succession

A 401—And still th'embod'y'd Picture rush'd to sight

B 389—And still th'embod'y'd Picture rose to sight

## PART II

A 77-80—O'er various Lands, and thro' far-distant Time.

First too renown'd for calling forth the Force

Of magic Numbers, whose immediate Light

Darts Order thro' Confusion. By fair Stars

B 77—Of Arts prime Source, and Guardian! by fair Stars

A 87-89— where reign'd alone

The Public Cult of ONE ETERNAL MIND,

Who made and governs all.

[Not in B. That is, the reference to Hebrew monotheism is dropped. See McKillop, *The Background of Thomson's Seasons* (Minneapolis, 1942), p. 40.]

A 187—As Eye could dart it's Beam, from GREECE repell'd

B 181—As Eye could dart its Vision, nobly check'd

A 239—Tho' high compounded, plain

B 233—Compounded high, tho' plain

A 317—With Passion fir'd; or subtiliz'd to Soul

B 311—Was fir'd to Passion, or refin'd to Soul

Note to A 328, B 322—*Jasylus*

[All the editions give this form for the name of the famous painting by Protogenes, instead of the correct form *Jalysus*.]

B 349-63—These rouze to Glory; while, to Rural Life,

The softer Canvas oft repos'd the Soul.

There gayly broke the Sun-illumin'd Cloud;

The less'ning Prospect, and the Mountain blue,

Vanish'd in Air; the Precipice frown'd, dire;  
 White, down the Rock, the rushing Torrent dash'd;  
 The Sun shone, trembling, o'er the distant Main;  
 The Tempest foam'd, immense; the driving Storm  
 Sadden'd the Skies, and, from the doubling Gloom,  
 On the scath'd Oak the ragged Lightning fell;  
 In closing Shades, and where the Current strays,  
 With Peace, and Love, and Innocence around,  
 Pip'd the lone Shepherd to his feeding Flock:  
 Round happy Parents smil'd their younger selves;  
 And Friends convers'd, by Death divided long.

[Not in A. The preceding lines describe the heroic and idealized painting of the ancients; this added passage attributes to ancient painting a blend of the sublime, the picturesque, and the sentimental which is really modern. It is related to the description of the Swiss Alps in Part IV, lines 348-62. See Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England* (New York, 1925), pp. 105-06, and McKillop, *Background*, pp. 74-75.]

### PART III

A-B 70—And not a *circling* Form but *rising* whole

Corrected in errata of 1738 to read: And form a rising not a circling Whole  
 [The correction has never been made by the editors, from Murdoch in 1762 to Robertson in 1908.]

A-B 282-83—Then, bursting broad, the boundless Shout to Heaven

From many a thousand Heart extatic sprung

[Later editors, including Robertson, change to "hearts." Thomson probably wrote "Heart" by analogy with such expressions as "a thousand head."]

### PART IV

A-B 699—Prevail'd the *General-King*, and *Chieftain-Thanes*

Robertson—Prevailed their general-king and chieftain-thanes

A 1019—Tho' meant to furnish hostile Aid, was call'd

B 1019—Was call'd, tho' meant to furnish hostile Aid

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## CRITICAL PROBLEMS IN MELVILLE'S "BENITO CERENO"

By JOSEPH SCHIFFMAN

... dreadful insurrections . . . have been made when opportunity offered.  
—Absolom Jones and Richard Allen, Negro leaders, 1794.

Herman Melville's ever popular short story, "Benito Cereno," has not yet been sufficiently analyzed. In the first flurries of the Melville revival in the 1920's and 1930's, "Benito Cereno" was hailed as an artful narrative,<sup>1</sup> but it suffered critical neglect since few commentators gave reasons for their judgments. Today, in the full blossom of Melville appreciation,<sup>2</sup> serious appraisal of "Benito Cereno" first appears. However, many problems have been raised but few satisfactorily answered.

Melville found the idea for his story in the journals of a Captain Amasa Delano, and "Benito Cereno" appeared in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* in 1855. The following year "Benito Cereno" was published in book form, together with several of Melville's other tales, under the title *The Piazza Tales*. Contemporary reviews of the book were brief and did not see fit to single out "Benito Cereno" for special comment. The *United States Democratic Review* of September, 1856, recommended the book as "a companion for the sultry summer months,"<sup>3</sup> and the *Southern Literary Messenger* of June, 1856, spoke of its "freshness and vivacity" without mention of "Benito Cereno."<sup>4</sup> The story did not attract much attention again until Melville's rediscovery in the 1920's and 1930's, when reviews were favorable but slight.<sup>5</sup> Recently Stanley T. Williams<sup>6</sup> and Rosalie Feltenstein<sup>7</sup> have

<sup>1</sup> Edward J. O'Brien, the American short-story critic, said of "Benito Cereno": "I regard this as the noblest short story in American literature. The balance of forces is complete, the atmosphere one of epic significance, the light cast upon the hero intense to the highest degree, the realization of the human soul profound, and the telling of the story orchestrated like a great symphony. . . ." Unfortunately, O'Brien, like most "Benito Cereno" critics, deals in superlatives but little analysis. Quotation from Edward J. O'Brien, ed., *The Twenty-Five Short Stories* (New York, 1931), p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> "In line with the plan to publish the complete Melville, Hendricks House-Farrar, Strauss will do 'Piazza Tales' in late June, 'Pierre' in August and 'Typee' in December." From the *New York Times* Sunday Book Review Section, March 21, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> N.S., VII (1856), 172.

<sup>4</sup> XXII (1856), 480.

<sup>5</sup> Rosalie Feltenstein has outlined the paucity of literary criticism of "Benito Cereno": "Since its first publication . . . 'Benito Cereno' either has been ignored by critics of Melville or has received inadequate treatment. In the *Athenaeum* for July 26, 1856, a contemporary reviewer dismissed all of *The Piazza Tales* as something for 'a very young public.' . . . Many of the later critics have really not been much more discerning in their appraisals of the story. Carl Van Vechten says, rather mysteriously, that 'Benito Cereno' is a 'sea story which should be

tried to analyze "Benito Cereno." It seems to me that, while both have made important beginnings, they have committed basic critical mistakes, leading them to false conclusions about Melville's short story.

Williams early in his paper reminds us that the meaning of "Benito Cereno" still eludes us, and expresses agreement with Ellery Sedgwick that we "must know all of his [Melville's] books to comprehend his mind, of which each is a 'profile.'" Yet Williams does not take Sedgwick's good advice, for he makes little attempt in his article to cast the mystery of "Benito Cereno" against the light that Melville's other books afford us, and so comes to the mistaken conclusion that Babo is evil. Williams says: "[Natural] to Babo . . . is hatred for the happiness of hatred, evil for the sake of evil . . . [his is] a motiveless malignity. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

This is a customary misinterpretation, for Babo's malignity is not motiveless. He was leading a rebellion of slaves in their fight for freedom, and all his acts of cruelty were dictated by this purpose. He ordered the killing of the slave owner, Don Alexandro, "because he and his companions could not otherwise be sure of their liberty." And Don Alexandro's skeleton was nailed to the ship's masthead with the words "Follow Your Leader" under it as a warning to the Spanish captain and crew that, unless the slaves were returned to free Senegal, each Spaniard would follow his leader to death. Babo is evil because of an evil world.

Almost all critics who insist that Babo is evil refuse to discuss the question of slavery. Rosalie Feltenstein, for example, says that Babo's condition of servitude is outside the boundaries of discussion since Melville does not take it into account.<sup>9</sup>

Melville could not felicitously discuss slavery within the framework of the short story, but aside from this problem, Miss Feltenstein's

better than it is,' and Van Wyck Brooks catalogues it as a simple, objective tale, merely 'the story of a meeting on a South American ship.' Lewis Mumford thinks it is 'such a tale as one might hear, with good luck, during a gam in the South Seas or at a bar in Callao.' With an apology for once having called the story 'not markedly original,' Carl Van Doren places Melville's shorter works among 'the most original and distinguished fiction produced on this continent,' but has not much more to say of 'Benito Cereno' than that 'it equals the best of Conrad in the weight of its drama and the skill of its unfolding.' John Freeman shows enthusiasm but tells nothing about the story itself when he calls it 'a flaming instance of the author's pure genius . . . which must have brought tears of pride to Melville's eyes as he looked back upon it.'" Rosalie Feltenstein, "Melville's 'Benito Cereno,'" *American Literature*, XIX (November, 1947), 245.

<sup>8</sup> Stanley T. Williams, "Follow Your Leader": Melville's 'Benito Cereno,'" *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXIII (Winter, 1947), 61-76.

<sup>9</sup> Feltenstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 245-55.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> Feltenstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 254-55. Yvor Winters, like Feltenstein and most other critics, refuses to examine slavery as a cause for Babo's actions. He says: "The morality of slavery is not an issue in this story; the issue is this, that through a series of acts . . . the fundamental evil of a group of men, evil which normally should have been kept in abeyance, was freed to act. The story is a portrait of that evil in action, as shown in the negroes. . . ." See his *In Defense of Reason* (New York, 1947), p. 222.

refusal to consider slavery in Babo's case raises other critical problems. The critic is not confined within limits set by the author. If this were so, there would be no true criticism. As Taine said, "It is a mistake to study the document as if it were isolated. This were to treat things like a simple scholar, to fall into the error of the bibliomaniac." Surely a discussion of Melville's attitudes toward slavery and the Negro would throw valuable light on Babo's actions in "Benito Cereno."

What did slavery mean to Melville? In *Mardi* he makes his position clear. In his allegorical trip through the southern part of Vivenza (the United States of America) he is shocked by the sight of slaves in the land of liberty. The travelers cannot believe their eyes when, on close scrutiny of the tribe of Hamo, they discover they are slaves—and yet men!<sup>10</sup>

Throughout Melville's books there is warm understanding and sympathy shown for the Negro. In *Redburn* Melville speaks of the freedom Negro sailors enjoy in Liverpool as contrasted with the restrictions on them in their own country.<sup>11</sup> In *Moby Dick* Melville hits a high-water mark in his presentation of Negro characters as people. The only Negro in the book who betrays any kind of neurosis is young Pip, who shrinks from life after a nightmare experience in chasing a whale. Melville significantly refers to him as "Poor Alabama boy."<sup>12</sup> The other people of color in the book, except Old Fleece, have never lived under slavery, and they show themselves to be the equals of their white mates. It is in keeping with Melville's philosophy that Babo as a human being would desire freedom.

The human desire for freedom is something Melville always understood and admired in men. Gabriel says that for Melville, all positions save two were tentative. The only two absolutes were "the eternal dualism between good and evil, and man's destiny to make war upon wrong."<sup>13</sup> Certainly, to Melville, Babo was warring on wrong.

Thirty years after "Benito Cereno," Melville made clear his attitude towards rebellion. In the Preface to *Billy Budd* he speaks of the French Revolution in these words:

The opening proposition made by the Spirit of that Age involved rectification of the Old World's hereditary wrongs. In France, to some extent, this was bloodily effected. But what then? Straightway the Revolution itself became a wrongdoer, one more oppressive than the kings. . . . During those years not the wisest could have foreseen that the outcome of all would be what to some thinkers apparently it has since turned out to be—a political advance along nearly the whole line for Europeans.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Mardi* in *Works*, IV (London, 1922), 247-52.

<sup>11</sup> *Redburn* (New York, 1924), p. 228.

<sup>12</sup> *Moby Dick*, Modern Library (New York, 1930), p. 174.

<sup>13</sup> Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815* (New York, 1940), p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> "Billy Budd, Foretopman," in *Shorter Novels of Herman Melville*, ed. Raymond Weaver (Liveright Publishing Corp., 1928), p. 228.

Melville knew that "the rectification of wrongs" does not always come pleasantly. "Benito Cereno" shows that. This is the answer Melville's whole lifework gives to the riddle of good and evil.

Miss Feltenstein has attempted to discover factual meanings in the rich symbolism of "Benito Cereno." But, like Williams, she comes to the faulty conclusion that Babo signifies evil, and that through him Cereno comes to understand "the blackness at the center of life." Miss Feltenstein says that "blackness and darkness are Melville's predominant symbols of evil, and Babo is blackness, not simply a Negro . . . [hence] he is pure evil. . . ."<sup>15</sup>

It is true that for most people of the Western Hemisphere black symbolizes evil and white symbolizes good. But this does not hold for Melville. He was a rebel against his age and culture,<sup>16</sup> such a deep-going rebel that even his symbolism became unorthodox. To Melville white was evil, harsh, ugly—the unknown. Moby Dick, the White Whale, had to be killed if the tragic crew of the *Pequod* were to find rest. Ishmael (Melville) speaks of white in these terms:

It was the whiteness of the whale that above all things appalled me. But how can I hope to explain myself here; and yet, in some dim, random way, explain myself I must, else all these chapters might be naught . . . consider that the mystical cosmetic which produces every one of her hues, the great principle of light, for ever remains white or colorless in itself, and if operating without medium upon matter, would touch all objects, even tulips and roses, with its own blank tinge—pondering all this, the palsied universe lies before us a leper; and like wilful travellers in Lapland, who refuse to wear colored and coloring glasses upon their eyes, so the wretched infidel gazes himself blind at the monumental white shroud that wraps all the prospect around him. And of all these things the Albino Whale was the symbol. Wonder ye then at the fiery hunt?<sup>17</sup>

And at another point in *Moby Dick* Melville raises his dark and white symbolism to the level of human coloring. The sailors are seated about at ease:

OLD MANX SAILOR

. . . This is the sort of weather when brave hearts snap ashore, and keeled hulls split at sea. Our captain has his birth-mark; look yonder, boys, there's another in the sky—lurid-like, ye see, all else pitch black.

<sup>15</sup> Feltenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>16</sup> Melville said "No" in an age which demanded that all good citizens should say "Yes." From the *Introduction to Herman Melville: Representative Selections*, by Willard Thorp (New York, 1938), p. xcvi. Note especially the section of the Introduction entitled "Melville's Social Ideas," pp. xcvi-xcix, for a discussion of Melville's attitudes toward slavery, Christian missions, primitive man, etc. Information such as the following is very important to a proper understanding of "Benito Cereno." "He [Melville] seems, indeed, to be unique among his contemporaries in his freedom from zeal and prejudice."

Many modern critics of Melville do not match his tolerant attitudes. For example, Arthur Hobson Quinn speaks of the attraction of "Benito Cereno" in these terms: "It is the picture of one man [Cereno], of our own race, alone amid the hostile strangers who are waiting to strike, that appeals so strongly." See his *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* (New York, 1936), p. 155.

<sup>17</sup> *Moby Dick*, pp. 272-83.

DAGGOO

What of that? Who's afraid of black's afraid of me! I'm quarried out of it!

SPANISH SAILOR

(*Aside.*) He wants to bully, ah!—the old grudge makes me touchy. (*Advancing.*) Aye, harpooner, thy race is the undeniable dark side of mankind—devilish dark at that. No offence. . . .

5TH NANTUCKET SAILOR

What's that I saw—lightning? Yes.

SPANISH SAILOR

No; Daggoos showing his teeth.

DAGGOO (*Springing*)

Swallow thine, mannikin! White skin, white liver.<sup>18</sup>

Symbolism becomes meaningful only when analyzed in the light of the author's mind, or within the context in which it is used. Williams overlooks this point in attempting to ascribe moral values to the name "Babo." Williams says, "Babo, after all, as perhaps his name suggests, is just an animal, a mutinous baboon."<sup>19</sup> That the name Babo had any special symbolic meaning for Melville is unlikely. He found the name in Delano's *Journals*, the source of his "Benito Cereno." The name Babo can be explained only in the role Babo plays. Though he was mutinous, as Williams says, he was no baboon. Instead he was a forceful, clever, courageous leader of his fellow slaves. If the name Babo connotes evil, what do the names Daggoos and Queequeg connote? These strange names are given to respected harpooners on the *Pequod*, sworn enemies of Moby Dick, and the best-paid men in the crew. Only in such terms can "symbolism" in Daggoos and Queequeg be discussed. Similarly, the name Babo, like any other piece of "symbolism," derives its significance from the role the character plays. To attempt to interpret symbols in any fixed, isolated manner is to indulge in mysticism, not criticism.<sup>20</sup>

Within the demands of the short-story form, how does Melville betray his sympathies? It is important to observe that "Benito

<sup>18</sup> *Moby Dick*, pp. 254-55.

<sup>19</sup> Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> "Human life in our age is so . . . diversified that people cannot share a few, historic, 'charged' symbols that have about the same . . . meaning for everybody." From Suzanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 287-88.

Of Melville's shorter tales, "Benito Cereno" is richest in symbolism. As Delano approaches the *San Dominick*, the boat appears to him like a "white-washed monastery after a thunderstorm" and its inhabitants "a ship-load of monks." Cereno at the end of the tale actually takes refuge in a monastery and "follows his leader" from there. Surely these symbolic references to the Catholic Church are heavy with meaning for the story. Other bits of symbolism that need more analysis are: the giant Negro Atufal in chains when he is actually leading a rebellion; Babo using the flag of Spain for a shaving towel while working on Cereno's face; the oakum pickers; the hatchet polishers and their "barbarous din"; the young African woman lying at ease with her babe; the Spanish sailor's treasured jewel, etc.

Cereno" as a story flows from two sources: first, from Don Alexandro's mistaken belief that his slaves were tractable, and, second, from Delano's inability to perceive that a slave rebellion was occurring under his very eyes. Had Don Alexandro not mistakenly advised Cereno that his slaves were content and could be transported without chains, there could have been no slave revolt. And had Delano been able to understand that Negroes could revolt successfully, there would have been no "Benito Cereno." In depicting the short-sightedness of those who thought slavery was acceptable to other people, Melville was condemning slavery.

Practically all of "Benito Cereno" is told through the eyes of one person, Captain Delano. Melville remains carefully in the background. Delano is referred to as "The American" by Melville, and since he is the only American who takes an appreciable part in the story, one can believe that Melville intends Delano perhaps as a microcosm of American attitudes of the time toward Negroes. If this is so, Melville has given us a mind that rings historically true.

Delano suffers a mental block in looking at Negroes. He cannot conceive of them as fully rounded people. To him, they are simple, lovable, sub-human beings, quite happy as slaves and servants. This is the fulcrum on which the whole story is based. Had Delano, the American, been able to understand that here was a shipload of Negroes who had successfully revolted, had he understood that Atufal was really not in chains but that he was periodically reconquering Cereno, had he understood that the "unsophisticated" hatchet polishers and "drooling" Negroes were part of an elaborate control system, there could have been no story.<sup>21</sup> So despite a strange atmosphere about the ship, Delano cannot perceive that the slaves are in rebellion. Feeling uneasy, he suspects Cereno. He looks everywhere but in the right place for an answer to the mysterious conduct of Cereno and the whole ship. And so Delano and the reader feel these "currents spin [their] heads around almost as much as they do the ship." A hundred little conflicts lash at Delano and the reader—action and repose, suspicion and reassurance, prickling and balm; and through it all Babo's role mocks the white man's low estimate of the Negro. For Delano "took to negroes . . . genially, just as other men to New-

<sup>21</sup> Delano's inability to comprehend the Negro's reaction to slavery is characteristic of many white American historians. John Fiske, James Schouler, and Ulrich B. Phillips, for example, all believe that the Negro, as an "inferior" being, was docile under slavery. See Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943). Aptheker says: "The data herein presented make necessary the revision of the generally accepted notion that his [the American Negro slave's] response [to slavery] was one of passivity and docility. The evidence, on the contrary, points to the conclusion that discontent and rebelliousness were not only exceedingly common, but, indeed, characteristic of American Negro slaves" (p. 374).

The slave leaders' quote used at the beginning of this paper is taken from Aptheker, p. 14.



foundland dogs." A grand hoax is put over on him, to be dispelled only by Cereno's desperate plunge into the rowboat.

In some ways "Benito Cereno" is a fossil relic of the stress and strain that America experienced over the slavery issue in the 1850's. In answer to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, fourteen pro-slavery novels were published between 1852 and 1854. These novels argued that the Negro "is not fit for freedom, knows himself an inferior, and in the majority of cases prefers to remain a slave." In these ante-bellum tracts, "A thinking Negro is unusual, a Negro expressing himself on slavery is unaccountable. . . ."<sup>22</sup> It was in this climate of controversy that "Benito Cereno" appeared.

Melville did not intend "Benito Cereno" as an abolitionist tract. He wanted primarily to write a "good story," one that would sell. But in selecting a theme of slave rebellion, and in treating Babo and his fellow slaves as able, disciplined people, as capable of evil as the white man, he treated the Negro as an individual. Both subject and treatment were conditioned by the 1850's, and both subject and treatment marked advances for American literature.<sup>23</sup>

Babo emerges the moral victor in "Benito Cereno." Cereno can never return to the slave trade after his experience with Babo. He remains depressed and disconsolate. Delano cannot understand Cereno's depression, since Babo is bound and out of harm's way. Delano asks Cereno: ". . . you are saved; what has cast such a shadow upon you?" To which the beaten Cereno replies, "The negro." And at the trial, Cereno cannot be made to face Babo.

Babo is sentenced to death by the law courts of Lima. His head is stuck upon a pole and his body is burned to ashes:

. . . for many days, the head [of Babo], that hive of subtlety, fixed on a pole in the Plaza, met, unabashed, the gaze of the whites; and across the Plaza looked . . . toward the monastery, on Mount Agonia without; where, three months [later] . . . Benito Cereno, did, indeed, follow his leader.

<sup>22</sup> See Jeannette Reid Tandy, "Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI (January, April, 1922), 40-50, 170-78.

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that one writer, significantly a Negro, comes closest to an understanding of the social implications of "Benito Cereno." Sterling Brown says: "The contrast between the reputed gentleness of Negroes . . . and the fierceness with which they fight for freedom [in "Benito Cereno"] is forcibly driven home. Certain Negroes stand out: Babo who . . . engineered the revolt with great skill . . . ; Francesco, the mulatto barber; Don José, personal servant to a Spanish Don; and Atufal. . . . All bear witness to what Melville recognized as a spirit that it would take years of slavery to break . . . although the mutineers are bloodthirsty and cruel, Melville does not make them into villains; they revolt as mankind has always revolted. . . . [He] comes nearer the truth in his scattered pictures of a few unusual Negroes than do the other authors of this period." See Sterling Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction* (Washington, D.C., 1937), pp. 12-13. While Brown's analysis of "Benito Cereno" is the best I have seen, he misses the point of Babo's moral victory at the end.



Babo's head gazed "unabashed" as Benito Cereno, who would trade in flesh, does "indeed follow his leader." What an indictment of slavery! Melville's thinking, artistically sublimated in form, shines through "Benito Cereno."

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## DAVID COPPERFIELD: A CENTURY OF CRITICAL AND POPULAR ACCLAIM

By ARTHUR A. ADRIAN

It is now a hundred years since Dickens, sorrowfully concluding the last number of *David Copperfield*, remarked in his preface that he felt "as if he were dismissing some portion of himself into the shadowy world," with a "crowd of creatures of his brain . . . going from him forever." Differing from his preceding novels in that it was written in the first person, an innovation for which John Forster took the credit,<sup>1</sup> this personal history had appeared monthly from May, 1849, to November, 1850. According to Forster, the composition of the narrative bore Dickens "irresistibly along," so that all breaks or interruptions in the invention proved harassing. That it was indeed a work which the author wrote *con amore*, the following statement from his preface bears out:

Of all my books I like this the best. It will be easily believed that I am a fond parent to every child of my fancy, and that no one can ever love that family as dearly as I love them. But, like many fond parents, I have in my heart of hearts a favourite child. And his name is *David Copperfield*.

Reversing the rule that an author is the worst judge of his own performance, the critics and the reading public have also nominated this work as their favorite Dickens novel. How *David Copperfield* has steadily maintained this position during the past hundred years the following study of its reception will indicate.<sup>2</sup>

Among those of Dickens' contemporaries who followed the personal history of David as the novel appeared serially, Thackeray was one of the most enthusiastic. "Have you read Dickens?" he asked in his letter to Mrs. William Brookfield on May 4, 1849, after the first installment of Chapters I to III had just appeared. "O it is charming. Bravo Dickens. It has some of his very prettiest touches—those inimitable Dickens touches w<sup>h</sup> make such a great man of him."<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter he urged Mrs. Brookfield's husband to "get David Copperfield: by Jingo it's beautiful—it beats the yellow chap this month hollow—"<sup>4</sup> And on May 6 of this same year he sang the praises of this work to Lady Blessington:

<sup>1</sup> "A suggestion that he should write it in the first person, by way of change, had been thrown out by me, which he took at once very gravely." John Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. J.W.T. Ley (London, 1928), p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> My references to commentaries on *David Copperfield* will be selective and representative, not exhaustive.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray*, ed. Gordon N. Ray (Cambridge, 1945), II, 531.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 533.

... there is a fellow by the name of Dickens who is bringing out a rival publication and who has written beautifully. Bravo Dickens! Davy Copperfield has beautiful things in it—those sweet little inimitable bits w<sup>h</sup> make one so fond of him. And let me tell your Ladyship that I think he has been reading a certain yellow-covered book and with advantage too: for he has simplified his style: kept out of the fine words and in fact is doing his best.<sup>5</sup>

Yet another Victorian novelist paid tribute to *David Copperfield* as it came out in monthly numbers. Writing to W. S. Williams on September 13, 1849, Charlotte Brontë characterized it as "very good—admirable in parts." To Mr. Williams' suggestion that it had an "affinity" with *Jane Eyre*, she replied: "It has, now and then—only what an advantage has Dickens in his varied knowledge of men and things!"<sup>6</sup>

The periodicals were equally quick to recognize the merits of the work. Following the publication of the last installment in November of 1850, a review in *The Athenaeum*<sup>7</sup> referred to *David Copperfield* as "the most beautiful and highly finished work which the world has had from the pen of Mr. Dickens." The article goes on to say that no previous performance by this author shows "so much gentleness of touch and delicacy of tone,—such abstinence from trick in what may be called the level part of the narrative,—so large an amount of refined and poetical yet simple knowledge of humanity." The delineation of David is considered to be "filled in and coloured without one stroke awry or one exaggerated tint to mar the portraiture." After citing further examples of skillfully executed pen portraits, particularly those of Betsy Trotwood and the Micawbers, the reviewer concludes by calling this novel the "best work of a genial and powerful writer."

To such rhapsodic praise *Fraser's Magazine*<sup>8</sup> added its plaudits the following month. The review in this periodical opens by taking cognizance of Dickens' popularity as compared with that of other writers: "Innumerable reputations have flared up and gone out; but the name and fame of Charles Dickens have been exempt from all vicissitude. . . . Dickens only dwells in a little Goshen of his own, away from the shadow of criticism." After predicting that the novelist's life in "half-a-dozen volumes" will some day occupy a place beside the biographies of Samuel Johnson and Walter Scott, the reviewer concludes his introductory effusions to explain why he considers *David Copperfield* the "best of all the author's fiction":

The plot is better contrived, and the interest more sustained, than in any other. Here there is no sickly sentiment, no prolix description, and scarcely a trace of exaggerated passion. The author's taste has become gradually more and more refined; his style has got to be more easy, graceful, and natural. The principal groups are delineated as carefully as ever; but instead of the elaborate

<sup>5</sup> *Letters and Private Papers of Thackeray*, II, 535.

<sup>6</sup> *The Brontës: Life and Letters*, ed. Clement Shorter (London, 1908), II, 71.

<sup>7</sup> November 23, 1850, pp. 1209-11.

<sup>8</sup> "Charles Dickens and *David Copperfield*," XLII (December, 1850). 698-710.

Dutch paintings to which we have become accustomed in his backgrounds and accessories, we have now a single vigorous touch here and there, which is far more artistic and more effective. His winds do not howl, nor his seas roar through whole chapters, as formerly; he has become better acquainted with his readers, and ventures to leave more to the imagination.<sup>9</sup>

Another publication to extol the merits of *David Copperfield* was *Blackwood's Magazine*.<sup>10</sup> In 1855, in connection with its notice of *Hard Times*, it took occasion to analyze all of Dickens' previously published novels. *Copperfield* is characterized as the author's "most able and most perfectly satisfactory work." Reference is made to the effective beginning and to the fact that the book "keeps up its pace more evenly than any of its predecessors." In the reviewer's opinion "no other work of Mr Dickens can compete with this in completeness or in beauty." And finally, it is presumed that "Dickens must have been under benign influences when this beautiful dawn of history grew upon him." Similarly high in its regard of David's story is an article appearing in the same periodical sixteen years later. In more than a decade and a half there has been no falling off in the enthusiastic reaction towards Dickens' "favourite child":

We may say here that of all his books "*Copperfield*" is the one which the reader has most satisfaction in. It has . . . many of Dickens's pleasantest sketches and best characters. Even the hero himself is capable of attracting us in a way not usually achieved by a *jeune premier*, and there is actually an interest apart from any drollery in the story of his childish life, the curious loneliness and independence of its introductory chapter, and the pleasant reality of growing up and youthful experience which marks the boy's progress into manhood.<sup>11</sup>

In the second quarter-century following its publication, *David Copperfield* continued to enjoy the high esteem in which it had been held during the first twenty-five years of its existence. Again literary figures came forward to applaud it. Even Matthew Arnold, who professedly saw no reason why the English Philistines should read their contemporaries, gave this novel his unqualified endorsement. Recalling how Gladstone had "solaced himself" with this work after his illness and "so set all Liberals . . . upon reading it over again," Arnold expressed his personal fondness for this masterpiece of fiction in 1881:

What a pleasure to have the opportunity of praising a work so sound, a work so rich in merits, as *David Copperfield*! *Man lese nicht die mit-strebende, mit-wirkende*, says Goethe: do not read your fellow-strivers, your fellow-workers. Of the contemporary rubbish which is shot so plentifully all round us, we can, indeed, hardly read too little. But to contemporary work so good as *David Copperfield*, we are in danger of perhaps not paying respect enough, of reading it (for who could help reading it?) too hastily, and then putting it aside for something else and forgetting it. What treasures of gaiety, invention, life, are in that book! what alertness and resource! what a soul of good-nature and kindness governing the whole!<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "Charles Dickens and *David Copperfield*," XLII, 704.

<sup>10</sup> "Charles Dickens," LXXVII (April, 1855), 451-66.

<sup>11</sup> "Charles Dickens," CIX (June, 1871), 689.

<sup>12</sup> "The Incompatibles," *The Nineteenth Century*, IX (June, 1881), 1034-35.

In the following year Mowbray Morris contributed a compelling analysis of *David Copperfield*. Not content merely to label it Dickens' "most attractive" and "best work," he showed convincingly wherein it surpassed the novelist's other creations:

And it is his best for this reason, that whereas in all his others he is continuously striving to realise the conception of his fancy, in this alone his business is to idealise the reality; in this alone, as it seems to me, his imagination prevails over his fancy. In this alone he is never grotesque, or for him so rarely that we hardly care to qualify the adverb. Nowhere else is his pathos so tender and so sure; nowhere else is his humour, though often more boisterous and abundant, so easy and so fine; nowhere else is his observation so vivid and so deep; nowhere else has he held with so sure a hand the balance between the classes.<sup>13</sup>

Of a few other literary figures who spoke favorably of *David Copperfield* during its second quarter-century it remains to write briefly. James Russell Lowell, who read this novel for the first time in 1887, remarked in a letter to C. E. Norton that it was "amazingly well done." Nor was he surprised that Dickens had called it his "favourite child."<sup>14</sup> Less laudatory was the recognition given the book by Robert Louis Stevenson. Never a Dickens enthusiast, he pointed to *David Copperfield* as at least a "negative success" in that it had finally demonstrated the author's ability to create a gentleman.<sup>15</sup> Near the close of the nineteenth century two noted editors added their comments to the impressive library of Dickens criticism. In the *DNB* Leslie Stephen called *David Copperfield* the most satisfactory of the author's works, explaining that "it contains less of the purely farcical or of the satirical caricature than most of his work, and shows his literary genius mellowed by age without loss of spontaneous vigour." To this analysis should be added Andrew Lang's penetrating appraisal from the introduction to the Gadshill edition: "The faults of Dickens, his emphasis, his blank verse, his iteration . . . are inconspicuous in *Copperfield*. He was at his prime of observation, humour, tenderness, and style."

The past fifty years have witnessed a growing interest in Dickens as evidenced by the voluminous scholarship. Nor have the twentieth-century critics failed to reserve a top rank for *David Copperfield*. One has but to turn to some of the more influential literary histories of the period to observe how securely the work has established itself. Referring to it as "one of the capital books of English fiction," George Saintsbury maintains that "the priceless Mr. Micawber would suffice to keep twenty books alive."<sup>16</sup> According to Oliver Elton, "Dickens

<sup>13</sup> "Charles Dickens," *The Fortnightly Review*, XXXII, n.s. (December, 1882), 776.

<sup>14</sup> *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (New York, 1893), II, 335.

<sup>15</sup> "Some Gentlemen in Fiction," *Scribner's Magazine*, III (June, 1888), 766-67.

<sup>16</sup> *History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (New York, 1904), p. 150.

slowly, and with many spurts and relapses, reached his truer and nobler style of painting about the period of *David Copperfield*.<sup>17</sup> Elton sees in this personal history "a wonderful harmony of tone . . . attained by the art which has released the writer from his own remembered trouble."<sup>18</sup> And one comprehensive history of the English novel asserts that "nowhere . . . else does Dickens appear so true a realist. . . . The characters . . . are as solid as the ground they stand on."<sup>19</sup>

An examination of the books and essays written about Dickens since the turn of the century will show how steadily *David Copperfield* has maintained its place among the first-rate Victorian novels. For purposes of illustration it will suffice to consider a few of the typical comments. A. W. Ward calls this novel "a pearl without a peer."<sup>20</sup> He insists, furthermore, that no other book by Dickens "equals it in that harmony of tone which no artist can secure unless by recasting all his materials."<sup>21</sup> Equally strong is the endorsement given the work by G. K. Chesterton, who declares that here Dickens has created "creatures who cling to us and tyrannise over us, creatures whom we would not forget if we could, creatures whom we could not forget if we would, creatures who are more actual than the man who made them."<sup>22</sup> Especially laudatory is the following tribute from Algernon Charles Swinburne, who follows his usual practice of lavishing superlatives upon any work which he admires:

. . . we cannot but feel moved to acclaim with all the more ardent gratitude the appearance of . . . perhaps the greatest gift bestowed on us by this magnificent and immortal benefactor. "*David Copperfield*," from the first chapter to the last, is unmistakable by any eye above the level and beyond the insight of a beetle's as one of the masterpieces to which time can only add a new charm and an unimaginable value. The narrative is as coherent and harmonious as that of "*Tom Jones*"; and to say this is to try it by the very highest and apparently the most unattainable standard. But I must venture to reaffirm my conviction that even the glorious masterpiece of Fielding's radiant and beneficent genius, if in some points superior, is by no means superior in all.<sup>23</sup>

The writers of the past two decades have continued to honor *David Copperfield* with their canticles of praise. J. B. Priestly declares that "there is all of Dickens in this, his masterpiece."<sup>24</sup> For Stephen Leacock the work "marks the highest reach" of Dickens' achievement.<sup>25</sup> Edmund Wilson believes that in the first half of the novel "Dickens strikes an enchanting vein which he never quite found before and

<sup>17</sup> *Survey of English Literature, 1780-1880* (New York, 1920), IV, 202.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 212.

<sup>19</sup> Ernest A. Baker, *History of the English Novel* (London, 1936), VII, 284.

<sup>20</sup> *Dickens* (London, 1905), p. 85.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> *Criticisms and Appreciations* (London, 1911), p. 138.

<sup>23</sup> *Charles Dickens* (London, 1913), pp. 33-34.

<sup>24</sup> *English Humour* (London, 1929), p. 162.

<sup>25</sup> *Charles Dickens* (Garden City, 1936), p. 121.

which he was never to find again."<sup>26</sup> Two of the latest books on Dickens consider it the author's masterpiece: Una Pope-Hennessy refers to it as the "peak of achievement";<sup>27</sup> and Hesketh Pearson sees this "autonovel" as the "most popular masterpiece of fiction in the English language" and among the "half-dozen greatest."<sup>28</sup>

With the high place accorded *David Copperfield* by the critics and scholars during the past hundred years, the popular taste has been wholly in accord. When this novel made its serial appearance during the middle of the nineteenth century, its circulation in England was twenty-five thousand a month. Though the demand for *Bleak House*, the next work from the author's pen, exceeded that for *Copperfield*, the autobiographical novel must be credited with paving the way for the later work. That Dickens' "favourite child" has enjoyed a considerable circulation is borne out by the statistical studies made at various times.

One such study was conducted near the end of the nineteenth century by Messrs. J. Selwin Tait and Sons, New York publishers. From all the important libraries in the United States this firm requested statistics on the most popular novels as computed on the basis of the number of times each book was checked out. Each library submitted a list of 150 works of fiction found to be most in demand in its area. An analysis of the relative popularity of each book showed that *David Copperfield* ranked first, it appearing on ninety-two per cent of these lists. The second place went to *Ivanhoe*, which appeared on eighty-eight per cent of the lists.<sup>29</sup>

Publication figures of the twentieth century continue to bear out the popularity of *Copperfield*. In 1934 the Everyman Library issued a list of its hundred best-selling books. This novel headed the list, which included ten titles from Dickens to make up the hundred.<sup>30</sup> In the Illustrated Classics, a series published by an English firm, Collins and Sons, Ltd., it again stood at the top out of three hundred titles in 1935.<sup>31</sup>

To ascertain to what extent it currently enjoys the popular favor, I wrote recently to some leading American publishers, asking for a sales comparison of *David Copperfield* with any other Dickens titles or Victorian novels. The information supplied by these most co-operative firms has left substantially unaltered the earlier evidence with respect to the popularity of this work. In the Lake English Classics, *David Copperfield* is only slightly less popular than *Tale of Two Cities* and *Christmas Carol*, the other Dickens titles pub-

<sup>26</sup> *The Wound and the Bow* (Boston, 1941), p. 45.

<sup>27</sup> *Charles Dickens* (New York, 1946), p. 350.

<sup>28</sup> *Dickens: His Character, Comedy, and Career* (New York, 1949), p. 173.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Hamilton W. Mabie, "The Most Popular Novels in America," *The Forum*, XVI (December, 1893), 512.

<sup>30</sup> See *The Dickensian*, XXXI (Winter, 1934-1935), 2-3.

<sup>31</sup> See *The Dickensian*, XXXI (Summer, 1935), 160.



lished by Scott, Foresman and Company. With Thomas Nelson and Sons it normally ranks first as compared with other Dickens novels. At the Oxford University Press it sells slightly better than the rest of the titles that represent the bulk of Dickens' sales (*Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Tale of Two Cities*, *Pickwick Papers*, and *Oliver Twist*). Ginn and Company reports that its edition of *David Copperfield* outsells its only other Dickens title, *Tale of Two Cities*, in the approximate ratio of three to two. Of the nine Dickens titles in the Great Illustrated Classics, published by Dodd, Mead and Company, *Copperfield* has sold approximately twice as well as any other Victorian novel. From the foregoing summary of publication figures it would appear, then, that Dickens' own favorite is also the choice of present-day readers.

As Dickens-lovers the world over observe the centennial of *David Copperfield*, they honor a novel concerning whose high place in literary annals the critics and the reading public have been in complete agreement. Because it is free from the earlier Dickensian exaggeration, because it does not rely for effect upon purely farcical or satirical caricatures, and because it moves in the realm of comedy instead of melodrama, it represents for the critics the pinnacle of the author's genius. For the readers its appeal stems from the fact that the narrative represents an idealized version of their beloved author's rise from the privations of childhood to the literary achievements of manhood. For them the novel is, indeed, some portion of Dickens himself, dismissed into the "shadowy world." Such is the impressive record of *Copperfield*, upon whose leaves the "genial sun" of critical and popular acclaim has shone for an entire century.

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## FALLMERAYER UND DIE AUGSBURGER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

VON MYRA R. JESSEN

Von dem Gelehrten und Stilisten Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer hat man bemerkt, dieser sei "so recht ein Beweis dafür, daß nur die schön, eigentlich nur die glänzend geschriebenen Werke der Wissenschaft am Leben bleiben, selbst nach Vernichtung ihres wissenschaftlichen Werkes."<sup>1</sup> Obwohl die im Rahmen dieser Arbeit zum ersten Mal gedruckten Briefe reichlich Material zu stilistischen Beobachtungen bieten, gilt vorliegende Untersuchung nicht dem Stilisten,<sup>2</sup> sondern dem Publizisten Fallmerayer in seinen Beziehungen zu dem damals hervorragenden Blatte Europas, der Augsburger Allgemeinen Zeitung, der er seit 1839, fast fünfzig Jahre alt, regelmäßig Beiträge geliefert hat. Diese Briefreihe gehört also zur späteren Periode eines Lebens, in dem das Revolutionsjahr 1848 einen bedeutenden Wendepunkt bildet. Im April 1848 wählten nämlich die Münchener Vororte den Schriftsteller und Universitätsprofessor Fallmerayer<sup>3</sup> in die Frankfurter Nationalversammlung. Erst kurz vorher, während er in Smyrna auf Reisen war, hatte ihn ein königliches Dekret an Stelle Josef von Görres' als Professor der Geschichte an die Universität München berufen. Damals stand dieser Tagelöhnersohn aus Tschötsch in Tirol auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Laufbahn: anerkannter Gelehrter, beliebter Verfasser der *Fragmente aus dem Orient*, durch Verleihung eines türkischen Ordens eben ausgezeichnet und seit 1844 regelmäßiger Herbstgast und freundschaftlicher Berater des bayrischen Kronprinzen. Die Münchener Professur aber sollte er nie ausüben. Denn nicht allein, daß er sich in die Nationalversammlung wählen läßt, er geht sogar mit dem Rumpfparlament nach Stuttgart. Zu gleicher Zeit hat Fallmerayer von Anfang an kein rechtes Zutrauen dazu: "Das Schlimmste," schreibt er am 15. Juni 1848 an seinen Freund Ludwig Steub, "ist noch daß ich von unserem Tun und Tagen am Main für das gemeine Heil nichts erwarte und die Katastrophe für unvermeidlich halte."<sup>4</sup> Gegen die Verlegung der

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Engel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 12. Aufl. (Wien u. Leipzig, 1912), II, 477.

<sup>2</sup> Eine erschöpfende Untersuchung von dessen Briefstil wird erst nach Veröffentlichung aller vorhandenen Briefe berechtigt sein, einem Unternehmen, das sich der Athesia-Verlag in Bozen zur Aufgabe machen will.

<sup>3</sup> Die bis jetzt umfassendste Behandlung des Denkers Fallmerayer findet man in *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayers geistige Entwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, von Dr. Herbert Seidler (München, 1947). In den Abh. der Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Heft 26. Ebenda: *Schriftenkunde* 137-138; Ausgaben und gedruckte Arbeiten Fallmerayers 138-153. Zitiert: Seidler.

<sup>4</sup> Mitgeteilt von A. Dreyer in *Der Schlern*, Südtiroler Halbmonatsschrift für Heimatkunde und Heimatpflege, Bozen. II (1921), 202. Zitiert: *Schlern* II.

Versammlung hat er daher gestimmt, fügt sich aber der Mehrheit, wie Steub sagt, "weil er es als Sache des Anstandes betrachtete, bis zum letzten auszuharren."<sup>6</sup> In rascher Folge findet sich dann Fallmerayer geächtet, seines Amtes ledig, und als Verbannter in der Schweiz lebend. Die Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung schreibt am 27. Oktober 1849 darüber:

Das Unerhörte, das Tragikomische ist geschehen; Fallmerayer, der Geschichtsschreiber von Morea und Trapezunt, ein Denker und Gelehrter von jener ernsten, gediegenen und zugleich einer klassischen Feder mächtigen Gattung, welche Bayern gerade nicht in Überfluß besitzt, wird einem Dieb und Landläufer gleich mit Steckbriefen verfolgt. . . .

Obwohl diese Zeilen von Ludwig Steub herrühren, war wohl auch die Redaktion der gleichen Meinung, vor allen Gustav Eduard R. Kolb, der damalige Schriftleiter der A.A.Z., an den, wo nicht anders angedeutet, unsere Briefe gerichtet sind.<sup>6</sup> Als Burschenschafter war Kolb 1821 von Friedrich List nach Italien gesandt worden, um für dessen "Neckarzeitung" Berichte über die Revolution in Piemont zu liefern. Nach Deutschland zurückgekehrt, wurde er Mitglied des Geheimbundes. Der berühmte Stuttgarter Prozess 1824 führte sogar den Namen: Kolb und Genossen und endete für Kolb mit vier Jahren Festungshaft auf der Hohenasperg, von denen er aber nur zwei abgesessen hat. Ende September 1826 wurde er entlassen und in den vollen Besitz der bürgerlichen Rechte und Ehren zurückversetzt. An der Augsburger Allgemeinen Zeitung war Kolb zuerst Korrektor und Übersetzer, wurde aber nach wenigen Wochen zur Redaktion gezogen, einer Tätigkeit, die er vom Jahre 1837 bis zu seinem Tode 1865 als Schriftleiter dieses einflußreichen Blattes fortsetzte. Den Menschen Kolb lernt man am besten kennen in seinen Briefen an den Verleger, Georg Cotta, und aus Äußerungen der Freunde und Bekannten Cottas, die erst 1934 zugänglich gemacht wurden.<sup>7</sup> Besonders Kolbs Briefe aus den bewegten Jahren 1846-50 zeigen ihn zwar oft niedergeschlagen, aber immer standhaft angesichts der Zensur. Will ihn z.B. Cotta überreden, daß die Arbeitslast der Zeitung durch die Monatblätter unnötig gehäuft sei, so erwidert er:

. . . die Monatblätter waren notwendig zu Erhaltung unserer politischen Diskussionsfreiheit, zu Herstellung unseres moralischen Namens. Wir mußten gegen den damaligen Zwang ein Refugium haben, und müssen dieses offen halten, weil nichts uns vor der Wiederkehr jenes Zwanges schützt. . . .<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> ADB, VI, 564.

<sup>7</sup> Zur Ergänzung dieser Reihe gehören weiter vier Briefe F's an Herrn Dr. Kolb, die schon im Drucke erschienen sind: aus Stambul 19.5.1841; aus München 26.4.1843; aus Stambul 15.9.1847; aus München 23.11.1854. Ferner der einzige bis jetzt im Drucke erschienene Brief Kolbs an F. vom 14.10.1848. Cf. Seidler 153 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Briefe an Cotta, Vom Vormärz bis Bismarck, 1833-1863*, III. Band (Stuttgart, 1934). Zitiert: Cotta III.

<sup>9</sup> Cotta III, 148.

Nachdem das Ministerium Abel 1847 gestürzt ist, befürchtet er immer noch eine Rückkehr desselben Systems, was in der Tat eintritt

mit Berks, dem Cavalier serviente der L [Lola Montez], als Minister des Innern. Ich bin ganz krank über diese Dinge. Sendet uns Wallerstein, nach seiner Gewohnheit, Lobartikel über dieses Ministerium, was soll man tun: Sie aufnehmen? Dann verlieren wir jeden moralischen Halt, und das möchte ich als Redakteur nicht mehr erleben. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Er will um die freie Zulassung der A.A.Z. ins Metternichsche Österreich nicht auf Kosten der Pressefreiheit bitten, denn das ist "unmöglich, wenn die Herausgeber ihren guten Namen und dem Blatte die Existenz im übrigen Deutschland erhalten wollen."<sup>10</sup>

Zwei Jahre später bei der Krise um Schleswig-Holstein versucht Kolb nach beiden Seiten versöhnend zu wirken, und als die Görreschen Blätter die A.A.Z. angreifen, bittet er den Freiherrn sich von jenen Menschen nicht einen Moment irre machen zu lassen, "in Aufrechterhaltung des großen, unbefangenen, humanen Standpunkts der Allgemeinen Zeitung."<sup>11</sup> Am charakteristischsten für seine Selbständigkeit ist wohl eine Entgegnung an Cotta, als dieser sich über die Rolle der Gelehrten beklagt:

An unseren jammervollen Zuständen sind die Professoren der Paulskirche gescheitert, wie jetzt—noch schreiender—die Diplomaten in Dresden. Aber was Großes geworden ist, ward von den vorschauenden Geistern der Nation gesät, und was Großes im Werden, ist nicht in den Köpfen der Diplomaten entstanden. Was wäre Deutschland ohne die deutsche Wissenschaft, die allein über Jahrhunderte voll Zerrüttung die starke Brücke der Einheit schlug! Sie selbst haben keinen schönern Titel, als den Ihnen jüngst Humboldt gab: Leiter der Erziehung der Gegenwart!<sup>12</sup>

Mit zwei Ausnahmen<sup>13</sup> bekunden auch alle von der Firma Cotta 1934 veröffentlichten Äußerungen über den Schriftleiter die höchste Anerkennung für den "trefflichen Kolb"<sup>14</sup> und dessen "bewundernswürdige Redaktion."<sup>15</sup> Der Grund für solche Achtung enthüllt sich nirgends deutlicher als in Worten Kolbs über den Beruf des Redakteurs, über die Triebfeder des eigenen Schaffens, hervorgerufen

<sup>9</sup> Cotta III, 160 (2.12.1847).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 162; cf. 170 (17.11.1848): "Bei der Wendung, welche die österreichischen Verhältnisse genommen haben, ist wieder einmal das Schicksal der Zeitung dort in Frage gestellt. Der alte Despotismus tritt so unverhüllt wieder hervor, daß wir dagegen mit aller Schärfe opponieren müssen, wenn wir nicht völlig diskreditiert werden wollen."—Vier Wochen später richtet Heinrich Laube aus Wien einen verzweifelten Brief an Cotta: "Wirken Sie um des Vaterlandes willen so rasch als möglich auf Kolb, daß er nicht länger die hiesige krankhafte Opposition der Österreicher gegen das neue Ministerium unterstütze. Es wird dadurch alles aufs Spiel gesetzt und Deutschland wie Österreich ein gleich schlechter Dienst geleistet." *Op. cit.*, 351 (21.12.1848).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 177 (7.11.1850).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 186 (6.3.1851).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *supra* Anm. 10 zu Heinrich Laube; *infra* Anm. 84 zum Fürsten Lichnowsky.

<sup>14</sup> Cotta III, Gottfried Kinkel am 17. September 1847.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 106. Moriz Mohl am 8. Mai 1841.

durch das vorübergehende Erscheinen Wilhelm H. Riehls in den Räumen der A.A.Z.:

Er ist aufrichtig, willig, wir haben noch nicht den leisesten Streit zusammen gehabt; aber er ist schwer beweglich, unpraktisch, und sieht Zeitungsarbeit zu sehr als Tagesarbeit an, bei der man Mühe vergebens einsetze, und die Persönlichkeit nur zu leicht verliere. Er hat da im Grund recht. Eine Zeitung erfordert die Hingebung des ganzen Menschen, aller seiner Gedanken und Strebungen, die tägliche hundertfache Arbeit zerreit einen, tausend Unannehmlichkeiten von tausend Seiten begleiten die Arbeit, und von den Parteien—vor allem—hat man des Teufels Dank. Wer trotz alledem nicht fhlt, da er geistige Keime tausendfach austreut, der lasse die Arbeit. . .<sup>16</sup>

So nun das durch den Verlag Cotta in letzter Zeit zugnglich gewordene Material zu Kolb. Der Chronist der Allgemeinen Zeitung jedoch, Eduard Heyck, der fr sein Werk: *Die Allgemeine Zeitung 1798-1898* vermutlich direkten Zugang zu den Quellen hatte, schreibt im Zusammenhang mit Fallmerayer, da dessen Beziehungen zur A.A.Z. "seit 1851 zu erkalten begannen; wesentlich wegen der viellempfundnen Rücksichtslosigkeit der freilich vom Stoff geradezu erdrckten Kolbschen Redaktion gegen ihre Autoren."<sup>17</sup> Ob die vermeintliche Rücksichtslosigkeit allein auf berarbeitung zurckzufhren wre, ist mindestens fraglich. Denn Heycks sonstige Einschtzung von Kolbs Wesen und Verdiensten stimmt im allgemeinen mit den eben zitierten brieflichen uerungen berein.<sup>18</sup> Zur Rücksichtslosigkeit wird Kolb wohl seine guten Grnde gehabt haben, wenn es so sein mute. Auch wird es an verschiedenen Stellen der hier folgenden Briefe klar, da die Autoren sich nicht immer leicht traktieren lieen. Vor den Briefen an Kolb steht nmlich in unserer Reihe<sup>19</sup> ein Schreiben, das sich dem Datum und dem Inhalte nach an Johann Georg Freiherrn von Cotta, den Inhaber und Geschftsleiter der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, richtet. Durch dessen Verlag, der auch fr die A.A.Z. verantwortlich war, ist Fallmerayer schon 1830 mit dem ersten Band seiner *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea whrend des Mittelalters* der Mitwelt bekannt geworden. Nun beklagt sich der Verfasser ber die verzgerte Drucklegung des zweiten Bandes in einem Tone, der in den Briefen oft wiederkehrt:

Mnchen 30 April 1836

Ew. Wohlgeboren,

Ein Unstern eigener Art scheint sich dem Drucke meines 2ten Bandes entgegenzustellen. Das Manuscript wurde mit Zurckbehaltung der Vorrede u des letzten Bogens bereits am 22 die wieder dahier auf die Post gegeben, u doch ist bis heute noch keine Korrektur eingelaufen, obgleich ich tglich mit ebenso groer Sehnsucht als Ungeduld ihrer Ankunft entgegenseh. Das ist doch ein

<sup>16</sup> Cotta III, 603. Kolb am 6. November 1852. Cf. *infra* Anm. 82.

<sup>17</sup> Eduard Heyck, *Die Allgemeine Zeitung 1798-1898* (Mnchen, 1898), 235; cf. auch dazu 119. Zitiert: Heyck.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 110 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Mit diesem Brief fngt die Reihe der bis jetzt nie gedruckten Fallmerayer-Briefe an, die im Besitze der Verf. sind.

großes Unglück, u ich fange an es für unmöglich zu halten die Vollendung des Druckes ganz abzuwarten, da die Sorge für die Gesundheit leider jede andere Rücksicht beseitigen muß.

Mir ist die Sache nicht anders erklärlich, als daß man jenseitig Mittel genug besitzt, das Buch auch ohne Beyhülfe des Autors korrekt in die Welt zu senden. Niemand wünscht dies sehnlicher als ich, nur möchte es doch gerathener seyn, meine Beyhülfe wenigstens so weit zu benutzen, bis die Bogen mit türkischen Anmerkungen, Phrasen u Wörtern geordnet sind, was etwa die Hälfte des Werkes betragen kann. Den Rest will ich gerne seinem Schicksale überlassen. Sonderbar scheint es übrigens, ein Manuscript drey volle Monate müßig liegen zu lassen!

Setzen Sie doch, ich bitte höflich, den Tag fest, an welchem der Druck beginnen soll, um meiner Unruhe doch einmal ein Ende zu machen u meine Abreise regeln zu können.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Ew Wohlgeboren

ergebenster

Fallmerayer.<sup>20</sup>

# I

Fallmerayer scheint fest daran geglaubt zu haben, daß Georg Cotta ihm nicht wohl wolle, ein Verdacht, der gelegentlich in den Briefen an Kolb auftaucht.<sup>21</sup> Zu gleicher Zeit erwähnt er immer so viele Möglichkeiten als Quellen der häufigen Zurückweisung, daß es beinahe den Anschein hat, als ob er bei dem Schriftleiter nach der Wahrheit angele.<sup>22</sup> Aus der ersten Gruppe der an Kolb gerichteten Briefe, aus den Jahren 1843-46, geht eindeutig hervor, daß es Fallmerayer nicht leicht wurde, seine Schriften in Augsburg unterzubringen, daß er sich "gezwungen und eingeschüchtert" fühlte. Dabei

<sup>20</sup> Ein hier nicht als Ganzes aufgenommener Brief vom 12. Dezember 1838 aus Genf an die Redaktion der A.A.Z. in Augsburg bittet um Aufnahme eines Artikels zugunsten "eines sehr verdienten und fähigen jungen Gelehrten, dessen definitiver Ernennung für die offene Stelle des *Droit penal* dahier sich nach Beseitigung aller Concurrenten doch immer noch eine Fraktion der hohen Aristokratie aus Partei-Interessen widersetzt."

<sup>21</sup> Die Quelle dieses Verdachts ist vielleicht z.T. zu suchen in Briefen der Firma Cotta an F. für die Jahre 1840-51, die, nach *Schlern* II, 172, im Nachlasse F's in Ansbach liegen; mehr noch in F's Briefen an Georg Cotta, von denen kein einziger in Cotta III aufgenommen worden ist.

<sup>22</sup> In dem ersten bis jetzt gedruckten Brief F's an Kolb, am 19. Mai 1841 aus Konstantinopel geschrieben, aber vielleicht nie abgeschickt, beklagt sich F. bitter über das Schicksal mehrerer Arbeiten, "was ich Ihnen, verehrtester Herr Doktor, gar nicht verhehle, weil ich weiß, daß bei Ihren freundlichen Gesinnungen für mich der Streich nicht von Ihnen, sondern anderswoher gekommen ist. Neunzehn Artikel verschiedenen Umfangs wurden seit meiner Abreise gemacht. Fünfzehn davon sind mehr oder weniger gerupft und zerzaust erschienen, zwei hat man bei Ihnen zurückgewiesen, und zwei andere (17. März und 19. März) habe ich aus Schrecken zurückbehalten. . . . Hoffentlich sind die excommunicirten Schmierereyen, früherer Bitte gemäß, bei Ihnen aufbewahrt. Zum Glück bin ich Herrn von Cotta nichts schuldig, und der Eigensinn Mächtignern gegenüber eine Meinung zu haben und das Laulichreden zu verweigern, bringt niemand Nachtheil als mir selbst." Mitgeteilt von Herrn Dr. Wm. Krag im *Schlern* II, 165 f. Der zweite an Kolb gerichtete Brief vom 26.4.43 findet sich unter den von Prof. Franz Babinger mitgeteilten "Fragmentistenbriefen" in *Euphron*, XXVI (1925), 271 f.



ist er sich der eigenen Schwächen bewußt, wie die Briefe vom 5. Februar und 5. Juli 1845 zeigen, scheut sich aber nie vor "Nadelstichen," die, wie er wohl weiß, zum Streite führen können. Dagegen, in dem Brief über den Tod des jungen Hammer-Purgstall, 1846, wo es sich um keine Zensurprobleme handelt, enthüllt sich die andere, zartere Seite seines Wesens. Ende dieses Jahres aber, wie wir aus den Tagebüchern erfahren, hat er sich "beinahe fest" entschlossen, der A.A.Z. vorläufig keine Artikel mehr zu schicken:<sup>23</sup>

München 9. November 1843

Geehrtester Herr und Freund!

Ein Verehrer des Hrn. v. Bourgoing<sup>24</sup> schickt mir anliegende paar Zeilen mit der dringenden Bitte, das Möglichste beizutragen um das Einrücken derselben in die nächste Nummer der Allg. Ztg. zu erwirken. *Voilà les Drôles!* Ich kann mein eigenes Gekritzel<sup>25</sup> nur hie und da mit Mühe unterbringen u soll auch noch andere beschirmen. Es ist wenig, wie Sie sehen, u enthält nur Preis und Lob ohne Nebenblick.

Doch *vous êtes le maître, faites comme il vous plaira*. Ich will Ihre Bedrängnis nicht auch noch nutzloser Weise vermehren, danke aber nebenher *chaudement* für die letzthin den Dingen gegebene Wendung. —Custine<sup>26</sup> ist ganz gelesen, excerptiert u im Artikel bis zu fol. 7 fortgeschrieben. Es wäre besser, ich hätte die Sache nicht übernommen, da ich den Meinungen *concernant les Russes* hier doch nicht *libre carrière* geben kann. Es bestehen allerhand Verdachte, u ich darf nicht vergessen, daß ich *apud Germanos* lebe u zu Mittag esse. Gezwungen u eingeschüchtern schreibt man aber nichts Gedeihliches u Lebendiges. *Opus et oleum perdo. Vale.*

Ihr ergebenster Fallmerayer

München 5 Februar 1845

Verehrtester Freund!

Bis Ende Februar, —wäre ich nicht gedrängt—könnte ich am armen Schlußfragment<sup>27</sup> streichen u herumcorrigieren um tandem Musik nach meinem Ohr in die Konstruktion zu bringen. Wie glücklich doch jene, denen es mit erstem Wurfe schon gelingt! Das Schicksal des in den Januar-Ergänzungsblättern abgedruckten MSCs<sup>28</sup> macht mir die größte Sorge. Weiß der Himmel was die Leute in Stuttgart mit der Frucht meiner sauersten Sommermühen getrieben haben!

Wenn Sie nur Ungeheures, allgemein Nützliches, Besonderes u neue Welten Entdeckendes verlangen u erwarten, bin ich dieses Mal sicherer als je verloren. Es ist beinahe von nichts als von mir selbst u meiner Privat Weisheit die Rede—Dinge, die man wohl in Dichtung u Wahrheit jenes Großen, aber nicht an einem Alltagsindividuum ertragen kann. Ich fürchte mit Frau Ida<sup>29</sup> ein

<sup>23</sup> Tagebucheintragung vom 6.1.1847. Cf. Seidler 145.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Baron de Bourgoing (1791-1864) war 1832-48 Gesandter in München.

<sup>25</sup> Ein Artikel über einen Aufstand in Griechenland am 15.9.1843 ist von der A.A.Z. abgewiesen worden. Cf. Seidler 153.

<sup>26</sup> "Custine, Rußland im Jahre 1839," eine Besprechung von des Marquis de Custine *La Russe en 1839*, A.A.Z. B 6, 7, 8 (1844). In: *Gesammelte Werke* von Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, hrsg. v. Georg Martin Thomas, 3 Bde (Leipzig, 1861), III, 20-56. Zitiert: G.W. Cf. *infra* Abschnitt IV.

<sup>27</sup> "Fragmente aus Thessalien," Ergbl. z. A.A.Z. 20-28 (Jan. 1845). In diesem Jahr erschienen bei Cotta in Stuttgart die *Fragmente aus dem Orient*, 1, 2, Fallmerayers Hauptwerk.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *supra*.

<sup>29</sup> Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, über deren *Orientalische Briefe* Fallmerayer 1845 eine spöttelnd scharfe Kritik verfaßt hat. A.A.Z. B 18, 19.



wenig in Compagnie zu seyn! Doch es geht nicht mehr! Ich wüßte nichts besseres auszupressen u freue mich—wie ich schon gestern schrieb, daß endlich einmal das Ende herangekommen ist. Natürlich muß das leidige Concept auch wieder in die Ergänzungsblätter wandern, weil man "Tonsur u Dogmatik von München" neben "Derwischmütze u Koran von Medina"<sup>30</sup> nicht in der Hauptbeilage dulden kann.

Fromm u ohne alle *malice* u Neckerei zu schreiben ist mir unmöglich. Darum sind auch meine Freunde bald gezählt. Im *Débats*<sup>31</sup> lese ich neulich: "Mit einem schönen Talente (geht mich nicht an) u einem mürrischen Humor kann man ohne Zweifel manchmal sich gefürchtet machen, aber zuletzt bildet sich ein Bund von Jedermann gegen den der Niemand schont." *Vale*.

Ihr ergebenster Fallmerayer

München, den 5 Juli 1845

Geehrter Freund!

Für die günstige Aufnahme der [*sic*] Polo-Artikels<sup>32</sup> bin ich um so dankbarer als ich nicht wenig Sorge hatte, er möchte im Allgemeinen zu trocken und interesselos erscheinen. Cyprien Robert<sup>33</sup> u Miczkiewicz<sup>34</sup> sind wohl im Sinne u werden vorgenommen sobald erst eine unerläßliche Arbeit<sup>35</sup> für die Gelehrten Anzeigen von Stapel gelaufen ist.

Inzwischen hat Hr. Neumann<sup>36</sup> eine *Pièce* über Mexico im 2ten seculo herausgegeben u ich, um eine alte Tscherkessen-Sünde<sup>37</sup> gut zu machen, eine kleine anliegende Anzeige geschrieben. Es wäre ein Zeichen besonderer, feudalistischer Begünstigung, wenn diese kleine Arbeit einen Platz in der ordentlichen Beilage fände. Hoffentlich sind die Witzeleien u unbedeutenden Anspielungen auf laufende Zeitideen kein Hinderniß. Arnim und die Andächtigen<sup>38</sup> muß man beständig necken, man muß Nadelstiche geben u den Leuten keine Ruhe gönnen. Sie wissen ja daß es mir Vergnügen macht viele u rachsüchtige Feinde zu haben. *Vale*.

ergebenster Fallmerayer<sup>39</sup>

<sup>30</sup> "Tonsur . . . Medina" bezieht sich auf F's Besprechungen "Gfrörer, *Allgemeine Kirchengeschichte*," Ergbl. z. A.A.Z. (Mai 1845) und "Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*," G.A. (*Gelehrte Anzeigen*, hrsg. v.d. K.B. Akad. d. Wiss.), XX, Nr. 113-15.

<sup>31</sup> *Journal des Débats*.

<sup>32</sup> "Bürck, *Die Reisen des Venetianers Marco Polo im 13. Jahrhundert*," Ergbl. z. A.A.Z. Monatsblatt (Juli 1845), 311-20. G.W. III, 80-112.

<sup>33</sup> Französischer Schriftsteller, 1842 Herausgeber der *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1845-57 Professor der slawischen Sprachen und Literatur am Collège de France.

<sup>34</sup> Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), der bedeutendste polnische Dichter, der 1840-44 die Professur der slawischen Sprachen am Collège de France bekleidete und 1843-44 *Vorlesungen über slawische Literatur und Zustände* in Leipzig deutsch herausgegeben hatte.

<sup>35</sup> "Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien . . .*," G.A. XX, Nr. 18 f. (1845); "Müller, *Das nordische Griechenland*," G.A. XXI, Nr. 175 f.

<sup>36</sup> Karl Friedrich N. (1793-1870), Orientalist, wurde 1831 Professor in München, aber 1852 seiner politischen Richtung wegen in den Ruhestand gesetzt. "Neumann, *Mexico im 5. Jahrhundert*" erschien in dem Ergbl. z. A.A.Z. (August 1845); G.W. III, 3-19.

<sup>37</sup> Bezieht sich auf F's Besprechung von Neumanns *Rußland und die Tscherkessen*, A.A.Z. B 145, 146 (1840); G.W. III, 3-19.

<sup>38</sup> Heinrich Friedrich, Graf von Arnim (1791-1859), war 1845-48 preußischer Gesandter in Wien, wo er sich im Geiste der Metternichschen Politik bewegte. In der Vorrede zu den *Fragmenten aus dem Orient* spricht F. von "Arnim's Polizeigenie." Unter den Andächtigen sind die Kirchengläubigen und -mächtigen zu verstehen.

<sup>39</sup> Ein in diese Reihe gehörender Brief vom 19.6.1846 an Kolb ist hier nicht aufgenommen.

Meran, den 5 Spber 1846

Geehrter Freund!

Sie werden es doch nicht versagen beigelegten Zeilen<sup>40</sup> einen Platz in den gewöhnlichen Correspondenz Artikeln der A.Z. zu gönnen.

Die tonsurirten Mönchsköpfe B. Weber<sup>41</sup> u P. Zingerle<sup>42</sup> werden allgemein getadelt u der große Leidtragende<sup>43</sup> hat mich gebeten seiner gerechten Empfindlichkeit durch ein paar Worte Luft zu machen.

Statt in Person zu erscheinen, wie Landrichter u Bürgermeister, sandten die Einfältigen dem betrübten Vater ihre eigenen hölzernen Gedichte, die in solchen Umständen sehr geneigte Aufnahme fanden.

Am 9 Sptr ziehe ich zu Dr. Streiter<sup>44</sup> nach Bozen hinab mit der Aussicht zum Anfang Oktober in München zu seyn. *Vale*.

Ihr ergebenster Fallmerayer<sup>45</sup>

Zum Thema: Fallmerayers Wesen gehören in diesem Zusammenhang Äußerungen aus anderen Briefen dieser Periode, die hier kurz berührt werden mögen. Zuerst in dem erwähnten Brief<sup>46</sup> an Kolb vom 26.4.1843 zeigt sich seine Freude an Streit mit anders gesinnten Menschen. Er erzählt Kolb, wie er im Münchener Hofgarten mit dem Philhellenen und Altertumsforscher Friedrich Thiersch herumspazierte, der um jeden Preis Frieden schließen wollte. "Aber mit solchen Leuten bin ich lieber im Krieg als auf freundschaftlichem Fuße. Über Alliierte dürfte man ja seiner kleinen Galle nie den Zügel schießen lassen; Pietät und Frömmigkeit gegen solche Leute ist meiner Natur im Innersten zu wider." Überhaupt geben Tagebücher wie Briefe den Eindruck eines ewigen Auf und Ab im Gemütsleben des Fragmentisten. 1842 und 1843 freut er sich grenzenlos über unverkümmert abgedruckte Artikel in der A.A.Z.<sup>47</sup> Niedergeschlagen kann er aber auch sein, nicht allein über zurückgewiesene Artikel, sondern vor allem über die eigene Rücksichtslosigkeit gegen andere. Ein Freund und Kollege, Dr. Höfler, macht ihn 1843 auf das Feindliche und Spöttische einer Buchanzeige aufmerksam, was ihn sofort

<sup>40</sup> Meran, 4. Sept. "Maximilian v. Hammer-Purgstall," A.A.Z. 252 (9.9.1846). Cf. Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, *Schriften und Tagebücher*, in Auswahl hrsg. und eingeleitet von H. Feigl und E. Molden (München, 1913), II, 307. Zitiert: *Schriften*. "4. September 1846 . . . Leichenzug des jungen Hammer-Purgstall in Mais; trüber Sinn; *solitudo et silentium*."

<sup>41</sup> Beda Weber (1798-1858), Benediktiner Schriftsteller und Dichter, wurde 1826 Professor am Gymnasium in Meran und 1848 für Meran in die Frankfurter Nationalversammlung gewählt.

<sup>42</sup> Pius Zingerle (1801-81), katholischer Theolog und Orientalist, seit 1821 Professor am Gymnasium zu Meran.

<sup>43</sup> Der Orientalist, Joseph Freiherr v. Hammer-Purgstall, dessen Sohn am 2. September 1846 gestorben war.

<sup>44</sup> Freund Fallmerayers auf Pairsberg in Bozen, bekannter Advokat und später Bürgermeister von Bozen.

<sup>45</sup> Chronologisch gehört nach diesem Brief ein Schreiben aus Stambul, das einen Bericht über die dortige militärische Lage und als Nachschrift ein paar Zeilen über den Zustand seiner Gesundheit bringt. A.A.Z. 258 (15.9.1847).

<sup>46</sup> *Supra* Anm. 22.

<sup>47</sup> *Schriften* II, 284 (28.10.1842); 286 (12.3.1843).

zur Nachdenklichkeit stimmt: "Wahrlich, ich habe das Maß der Worte verloren und bin fere allgemein wie ein giftiges Insekt, quasi ein toller Hund, angesehen, dem man aus dem Wege geht, dem niemand traut."<sup>48</sup> Ein andermal heißt es: "Bei der langen Gewohnheit *de dire du mal de tout le monde* habe ich nicht mehr die Kraft selbst gegen *Familiarissimos* schonend und *delicat* in der Critic zu sein!"<sup>49</sup> Die Unbekümmertheit, mit der Fallmerayer trotzdem Feinde als etwas Selbstverständliches begrüßt, gehört mit zum Sachlich-Kühnen seiner Natur. 1844 z.B. in den langen Unterredungen mit dem bayesischen Kronprinzen Maximilian hat er nicht gezögert, den heiklen Punkt der Zensur zu betonen und dabei die A.A.Z. zu erwähnen: "Du kannst denken, mit welch schonungsloser Derbheit ich seine Fragen über öffentliche Zustände und Volksstimmung . . . beantwortet und . . . die stupid-pfäffischen Bedrückungen der Presse und des ersten Organes deutscher Öffentlichkeit ausgemalt und geschildert habe."<sup>50</sup>

## II

Kolbs Haltung in den folgenden kritischen Jahren 1848-50 begreift man am besten, wenn man in dessen Briefen an Georg Cotta nachsucht, was die Schriftleitung damals erlebte. Am 18. Februar 1848 schreibt Kolb an Cotta:

Waren die Tage vom 10. bis 13. stürmische für uns, so erleben wir jetzt die bittersten, die noch über uns gekommen. In München und hier ist so alles aus den Fugen, die lang zurückgedrängte Stimmung hat so gewaltsam sich Luft gemacht, daß auf uns selbst, die wir die friedlichsten Zuschauer machten, die wütendsten Anklagen sich häufen wegen jener zwei Artikel (über die Schließung der Universität in München), die gerade dort ankamen, als der Sturm entschieden hatte. Ich weiß es, solchen Schändlichkeiten gegenüber, nicht hier auszuhalten. Der Vorwurf allzugroßer Wohlgefälligkeit der Allg. Ztg. gegen die Gewalt ist gegründet. Ich hätte dem Ministerium die Einrückung jenes Artikels versagen, ich hätte entschieden gegen die Aufhebung der Vorlesungen auftreten sollen. Nun muß ich es mit meinem unbescholtenen Namen bezahlen. Ich gestehe, es drückt mir das Herz ab, und ich fühle mich so an Kopf und Gliedern gelähmt, daß ich nicht weiß, wie ich das nur noch acht Tage aushalten soll, ohne der schwersten Krankheit zu verfallen. . . . Ich muß eine Reise machen. . . . Ich bin müde und matt, und hätte ich nicht die Sorge für Frau und Kind, so wäre ich in diesem Augenblick nicht mehr am Leben.<sup>51</sup>

Aus dieser Stimmung heraus versteht man, weshalb des Schriftleiters "gewohnte Gunst," die Fallmerayer im nächsten Brief aus Frankfurt am Main erwähnt, ihn oft im Stiche lassen mußte:

<sup>48</sup> *Schriften* II, 287 (17.3.1843).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 300 (4.8.1845).

<sup>50</sup> Brief an J. Mayr vom 5.11.1844. Abgedruckt in den *Hist. Pol. Blättern*, XCVIII (1886), 536. Cf. Seidler 58, der die immer tiefer werdende Verbitterung dieser Jahre hervorhebt.

<sup>51</sup> Cotta III, 166.

Frankfurt a.M. 1 Oktober 1848

Geehrter Freund!

Endlich bin ich, wie Sie sehen, wieder mobil geworden, kann aber nicht wissen, ob Sie eine so starke Ladung über Kirchensachen<sup>52</sup> in diesem Augenblick brauchen können. Entscheiden Sie nach Umständen aber doch nicht ohne die gewohnte Gunst für

Ihren ergebensten Fallmerayer

Die Aufnahme des hier erwähnten Artikels ging auch nicht ohne Reibereien ab. Denn in dem einzigen bis jetzt gedruckten Brief Kolbs an Fallmerayer,<sup>53</sup> dem ein noch nicht aufgefundener von F. vielleicht voranging, erklärt Kolb, er müsse auch die größten Vorwürfe ruhig hinnehmen. Er und seine Kollegen könnten unmöglich "gegen irgend eine *Corporatio* die Anklage erheben . . . sie stehle, plündere und erpresse. Man muß jetzt stark reden, um gehört zu werden, aber das scheint doch zu stark." Daher bittet er Fallmerayer in der Sprache gegen Kirche und Klerus zu mildern und einige der mörderischen Spitzen zu glätten. Falls er das nicht wolle, verzichten sie auf den Artikel, "so höchst ungern dieß auch geschieht, denn ich zähle ihn zu den Besten, Markigsten, was Sie je geschrieben." Daß Kolb den anderen als "Verehrter Freund" anredet und mit "freundschaftlichem Gruße" schließt, ist bezeichnend für den noch warmen Ton des Briefwechsels.

Ein Jahr später, nachdem Fallmerayer schon drei Monate der Schweizer Verbannung und des Brachliegens seines Talents ausgekostet hat, trifft ihn die Nachricht von seiner Ruhestandsetzung durch eine Reihe kleinerer Artikel in der A.A.Z., die von seinem Schicksal berichten.<sup>54</sup> Bewegt von dem Wohlwollen, das sich darin äußert (die Artikel rührten von seinem Freund Ludwig Steub her), schreibt er:

St. Gallen, 18. Okt. 1849

Geehrter Freund,

Die beiden Artikel vom 8 u 10 Sptbr haben im lesenden Publicum eine große Wirkung hervorgebracht. Innere Wärme u nachhaltige Kraft des Ausdrucks u zwar in der A.A.Z. haben dem gepriesenen Individuum Aufmerksamkeit u Gesinnung Vieler zugewandt.

*Tantus amor! tantae laudes!*

Wohin ich immer komme, selbst in den fremdesten Gegenden, bin ich bekannt u freundlich aufgenommen. Selbst auf meine Dienste, so geringe und wenig bedeutend sie sind, legt man hie und da noch einen Werth. Was ich schon früher oft gesagt habe, wiederhole ich heute dankbar, daß ich das Günstige

<sup>52</sup> "Schattenrisse aus der Paulskirche," A.A.Z. B 297 (23.10.1848); B 298 (24.10.1848). G.W. II, 266-90. Zu F's Erlebnissen in Frankfurt bieten die Tagebücher einen zusammenhängenden Kommentar: *Schriften* II, 316 f.

<sup>53</sup> Augsburg, 14.10.1848, *Schlern* II, 168, von Herrn Dr. Wm. Krag mitgeteilt.  
<sup>54</sup> *Schriften* II, 345: Sonntag 9. September (1849) . . . A.A.Z. bringt vom 8. Sept. meine In-Ruhestand-Setzung mit wohlwollendem Commentar; . . . über die unerwartete Nachricht etwas betroffen und kleinlaut; allerlei Gedanken über die Pensionssumme; . . . Montag, 10. September . . . Schirm und Anstellung durch Cotta im Falle schlimmeren Ausgangs der Sache; weder Verhör noch Akten noch Gerichtshof in Augsburg; bewirkt die Kammer nichts, so ist die Länge meines Exils unabsehbar. . . . Cf. *supra* S. 333.

meiner Stellung zur Öffentlichkeit hauptsächlich dem Cotta'schen Journal verdanke.

Die Gesundheit, Gott lob, ist vertrefflich u auch die Laune viel besser als zu gleicher Frist im vorigen Jahre. *Vale*.

Your faithful

Fallmerayer

Das Jahr 1850 bringt die Wiederaufnahme der Korrespondenz-Arbeit für die A.A.Z. und die Klagen über gestrichene Stellen und abgewiesene Artikel häufen sich in Tagebüchern<sup>55</sup> wie Briefen. Noch aus St. Gallen heißt es:

St. Gallen 17 Februar 1850

Gehrtester Freund,

Für das was Sie vom Czar-Artikel<sup>56</sup> gegeben haben, bin ich sehr dankbar, jedermann aber u der arme Fragmentist ins Besondere bedauert, daß Sie den Schluß, die *Peroratio* u gleichsam den Kern des Ganzen durch die Ökonomie der A.Z. wegzulassen genöthigt waren. Besonders peinlich hat die Unterdrückung des "letzten Wurfes"<sup>57</sup> berührt u Sie begreifen wohl von selbst, daß ich gestern Abend nach Ansicht der Beilage alsogleich den Gänsekiel weglegte u den Artikel über die gegenwärtigen Zustände Deutschlands vorderhand *in petto* behielt. Wie soll ich aber auch umsonst arbeiten? Gewinnt man auch nichts, so will man doch gelesen seyn. Fehlt aber beides zugleich, so hat man ein Recht seinem natürlichen Hang zum *Chömage* sich von neuem hinzugeben. Critiken innerhalb gewisser Schranken haben noch am ehesten Aussicht, politische Arbeiten aber denke ich von nun an nur auf Bestellung anzufertigen, wie der byzantinische Pfaff nur an jenem Tage Messe liest, an welchem sie jemand ordiniert u bezahlt.

Hoffentlich haben Sie das MSC des Czar-Artikels noch nicht vernichtet u ich bitte um integrale Hierhersendung, weil ich das Fehlende aus der ärmlichen Gedanken-skizze nicht mehr herzustellen vermöchte u eine Sammlung unverstümelter Aufsätze doch einmal dienen könnte.

Die "Dinge in Griechenland"<sup>58</sup> haben Sie gestern erhalten u ohne den plötzlichen Frost von gestern wäre nächste Woche wieder eine Lucubration erschienen. Noch bin ich nicht *effoetus*, wie "*les petits misérables*" vorigen Sommer glaubten; u die *Deutsche Monatsschrift*,<sup>59</sup> nämlich, ohne Clientel u ohne Publicum, ist leider die einzige Arena auf welcher ich nach Belieben toben kann. Sechzig Quartseiten MSC seit erstem December sind bereits in Händen der Redaktion u Sie werden es erklärlich finden, wenn ich mich für den anderwärtigen Zwang höflich u wohlgemuth in der *Monatsschrift* zu entschädigen suche.

Vergessen Sie ja nicht, ich bitte, das MSC des Czar-Artikels zu senden; mir ist an der Sache sehr viel gelegen. *Vale*.

Ihr ergebenster

Fallmerayer

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Seidler 146 f. *et passim*.

<sup>56</sup> "Czar, Byzanz und Occident." St. Gallen 10. Feb. A.A.Z. B 46 (15.2.1850), G.W. II, 89-109.

<sup>57</sup> Seidler 146: die gestrichene Stelle (G.W. II, 106[Z 12]-109) "erschien als 'Fragment des Fragmentisten' in Kolatscheks *Deutscher Monatsschrift für Politik* mit einer Einleitung Fallmerayers 1850, 2. Bd. 160-62 im April. *Schriften* I, 187 f.

<sup>58</sup> "Die Dinge in Griechenland." St. Gallen, 14. Feb. A.A.Z. B 55 (24.2.1850), S. 877 f.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *supra* Anm. 57. Diese Zeitschrift erschien zuerst 1850 in Stuttgart, später in Bremen, hörte aber schon Ende 1851 auf.

Nach erfolgter Amnestie kehrt Fallmerayer am 22. April 1850 wieder nach München zurück und findet sich noch einen Monat später "gemieden, abgestoßen von allem Beamtenthum und von allen mit dem Hof auch *quam laxissimo vinculo* Verbundenen Personen; von Solchen kein Besuch erwidert; Bann und Acht. . . ." <sup>60</sup> Aber die A.A.Z. steht ihm noch bei:

München 12 Juny 1850

Verehrtester Freund,

Die *Monumenta Arpadiana*, <sup>61</sup> obgleich schwach u ziemlich geistlos dargestellt, haben durch Ihre Nachsicht doch noch einen guten Platz erhalten, *quod felix faustumque sit*.

Anliegend folgt eine Anzeige von R. Kink's akademischen Vorlesungen über Tiroler Geschichte, <sup>62</sup> ein Buch, welches Dr. Streiter eben erst vor zwei Tagen gut u pikant besprochen hat.

Meine Arbeit ist jedoch ganz anderer Natur u hat es mehr mit Land u Autor als mit dem Stoff zu tun. Ich habe für Dr. Steub <sup>63</sup> gearbeitet, dem sie das Buch aus Tirol geschickt u *ardentissime* empfohlen haben.

Sie kennen ja die Tiroler-Schwächen, von denen ich vielleicht weniger als andere frei geblieben bin. Was nicht in der A.Z. steht, hat bei uns weder Werth noch Gunst.

Farbe und Haltung der Arbeit sind hoffentlich auch orthodox genug, so daß von dieser Seite nichts entgegensteht.

Für die unglückliche, antibürkische Composition <sup>64</sup> hat mir das Vorarlberger Comité 60 Honorar bezahlt, was ich Ihnen natürlich *sub sigillo* anvertraue. Solche Procedures erregen bei einem armen Pensionisten allzeit gute Launen u sollen auch anderen Gebietern als Exempel dienen. *Vale*.

Steub ist noch nicht zurück.

Fallmerayer

Über die ersten Monate nach Fallmerayers Rückkehr aus der Schweiz geben uns die Cotta-Briefe an einer Stelle Aufschluß. Es sind nur drei Sätze von Kolb, aber darin spiegelt sich Cottas Haltung fast so scharf, als ob wir den fehlenden Brief des Freiherrn vor Augen hätten. Man scheint Gedanken auszutauschen über verschiedene

<sup>60</sup> *Schriften* II, 347; Freitag 17. Mai 1850.

<sup>61</sup> "*Rerum Hungaricum Monumenta Arpadiana*. Ed. St. L. Endlicher." A.A.Z. B 156 (5.6.1850).

<sup>62</sup> "R. Kink: *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte Tirols*." A.A.Z. B 179 (28.6.1850).

<sup>63</sup> Ludwig Steub (1812-88), Kulturhistoriker und Schriftsteller, ließ sich 1836 in München nieder, wo er als Anwalt tätig war. Von ihm schreibt Kolb am 7. Juli 1850 an Cotta: "Steub betrachte ich als eine der ersten Zierden der Zeitung, als geradezu unersetzbar. Manches was gewagt und keck scheint, verliert das Verletzende durch den Scherz, der es einkleidet. Solcher geistvoller Humor wird in jedem Blatte von der Bedeutung der Allgemeinen immer etwas voraushaben müssen. Wer, wie Steub, die Liebe zum angestammten Land ausspricht und Bayerns Eigentümlichkeit geltend macht vor ganz Deutschland, ist viel konservativer, als es beim ersten Anschauen seines Freimuts scheint. Gerade Federn wie die Steubsche bürgern die Zeitung in Bayern ein, wo sie fremder ist als in Österreich, und wo gegen sie noch von Abels und Wallersteins Zeit her ein gewisses Mißtrauen herrscht." In: Cotta III, 176.

<sup>64</sup> Bezieht sich wohl auf eine Besprechung einer weiteren Arbeit August Bürcks. Cf. *supra* Brief vom 5.7.1845 zum "Polo-Artikel" und Anm. 32. Bei Seidler 146-47 und 153 ist nichts angeführt, das damit im Zusammenhang stehen könnte. Ob das unter anderen ungedruckten Arbeiten zu suchen wäre?



Mitarbeiter an der A.A.Z., denn Kolbs Worte über Fallmerayer stehen vor der längeren, eben erwähnten Beurteilung Steubs: "Augsburg, 7. Juli [1850]. . . . Ihre Ansicht über Fallmerayer teile ich nahezu, schicke ihm daher vieles zurück, erst heute wieder einen größeren Aufsatz. Ich hoffe, er wird es satt, der äußersten Linken anzugehören. Dazu ist er zu bedeutend und im Grunde der Seele zu redlich."<sup>65</sup> Von Fallmerayer selbst wissen wir, daß er in Frankfurt auf der Linken saß und immer gegen das Reichsministerium stimmte. Überhaupt hatte, wie Seidler betont, schon vor 1848 dessen Haltung "eine immer stärkere liberale und soziale Tönung angenommen."<sup>66</sup> Cotta wird wohl daher Bedenken gehabt haben, weitere Beiträge von ihm anzunehmen. Ob seine "Ansicht" nur auf dem Politischen beruhte, läßt sich ohne den betreffenden Brief an Kolb nicht bestimmen. Jedenfalls teilt Kolb die Ansicht des Geschäftsleiters nicht ganz, indem er die gegenwärtige Richtung Fallmerayers als etwas Vorübergehendes bezeichnet.<sup>67</sup> Der größere "Aufsatz," den er zurückgewiesen hat,<sup>68</sup> ist ohne Zweifel der Artikel über Schleswig-Holstein, der im folgenden Brief erwähnt wird:

München 26 Juli 1850

Verehrte Redaktion!

Wenn neben anliegendem [wohl: nebenanliegendem] Concepte über Benders Geschichte der Waldenser<sup>69</sup> etwa auch das Schicksal des letzten mit so wenig Rücksicht abgewiesenen Artikels über Schleswig-Holstein<sup>70</sup> zugeachtet seyn sollte, bitte ich höflich das Urtheil nicht zu verzögern u die arme *Pièce* wieder hierherzusenden.

Hochachtungsvoll

Fallmerayer<sup>71</sup>

Mit der Besprechung von Benders *Geschichte der Waldenser* stoßen wir auf das Problem: Wenn ein Artikel von der A.A.Z. nicht abgelehnt, sondern nur "verstümmelt" wird, wie Fallmerayer es ausdrückt, was fällt daran zum Opfer? An dem sogenannten Zar-Artikel aus dem Monat Februar dieses Jahres hatte Kolb den

<sup>65</sup> Cotta III, 176.

<sup>66</sup> Seidler 37, Anm. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Im Oktober 1850 findet sich in einem Briefe F's an Steub: "Aus dem Hause gehe ich *rarissime*, blättere immerfort, esse Trauben und lästere über Kolbsche Engbrüstigkeit und die trostlose Langweiligkeit der Presse." Mitgeteilt von A. Dreyer im *Schlern* II, 204.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Seidler 147, der dazu eine Stelle aus den Tagebüchern vom 18.7.1850 angibt.

<sup>69</sup> "Bender, *Geschichte der Waldenser*." A.A.Z. B 227 (15.8.1850).

<sup>70</sup> "Deutschland und Schleswig-Holstein." *Deutsche Monatsschrift*, III (Juli 1850), 161-64. G.W. II, 291-96.

<sup>71</sup> Ein hierher gehörender Brief an Herrn Dr. C. A. Mebold in Augsburg, aus München 27.8.1850, bezieht sich, der Chronologie nach, auf "Das Neueste aus der Historiographie in Bayern," eine Besprechung, die laut Tagebuch vom 31.8.1850 von der A.A.Z. zurückgewiesen wurde und in der *Deutschen Monatsschrift*, September 1850 erschienen ist. Cf. Seidler 147. In der Abwesenheit seines Freundes Dr. Kolb verspricht F. dem Mebold "die verlorene Zeit durch eiliges Entgegenkommen u prompte Castigation zu sarkastischen Stellen wieder einzubringen."



"letzten Wurf," den Schluß, unterdrückt. Hatte er dabei eine bestimmte Richtlinie oder hing alles von der Konjunktur des politischen Augenblicks ab? Ein Vergleich mit dem später in die *Gesammelten Werke* vollständig aufgenommenen Aufsatz bringt ans Licht einen Aufruf des Verfassers an Österreich, "dem kaiserlichen Schirmvogt an der Nawa den Fehdehandschuh hinzuwerfen."<sup>72</sup> Zu gleicher Zeit aber ist er sich der Unmöglichkeit eines solchen Schrittes in Deutschland bewußt, denn "die Sache der Fürsten ist von der Sache des Volkes abgelöst und man steht sich überall gesondert und gemessen, wie Herr und Knecht, ja beinahe wie im Orient als Feind und Nebenbuhler gegenüber."<sup>73</sup> Das politisch Anfechtbare muß also gestrichen werden. Dagegen hat die A.A.Z. die Besprechung von Benders Werk ohne jede Kürzung oder Änderung gedruckt,<sup>74</sup> ein Umstand, der vielleicht mit Kolbs Sommerferien in diesem Jahre zu erklären ist. Aus dem Artikel wird klar, daß der Fragmentist sich bei dieser Gelegenheit eine Art *exhortatio* an die Redaktion erlaubt, in der er seinem Ärger über schon abgewiesene Arbeiten Ausdruck gibt und die nach seiner Ansicht unberechtigten Einwände der Redaktion zu widerlegen versucht. So krankhaft der Ton an manchen Stellen anmuten mag, man spürt doch dahinter den kühnen Geist, der es nicht scheut, der Schriftleitung der A.A.Z. ihre Zaghaftigkeit vorzuwerfen, der sich aus der Reihe der politischen Schriftsteller ungern in die der bloß literarisch tätigen gedrängt sieht.<sup>75</sup> Im Hauptteil des Artikels läßt sich F. keine Gelegenheit entgehen, der Kirche einen Hieb zu versetzen. Gegen Ende zählt er die Verfolgungen seitens der Franzosen auf, denen die Waldenser ausgesetzt waren, und lenkt dann über in die Gegenwart: "Die verderbliche

<sup>72</sup> G.W. II, 107.

<sup>73</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>74</sup> Die Handschrift gehört als Anhang zu unserer Briefreihe und ermöglicht daher einen genauen Vergleich mit der Fassung des Bender-Artikels in der A.A.Z.

<sup>75</sup> A.A.Z. B 227 (15.8.1850). Daraus etwa folgende Stellen: "Daß Sie den 'Nachklängen zur Katastrophe in Griechenland' als accentlosen und widerlichen Mißtönen Ihr Ohr verschlossen, hat im Grunde die Leser wenig überrascht. Wenn aber jetzt in verhängnisvoller Stunde ein rascher Blick über die inländischen Verhältnisse und ein warmes Wort für Schleswig-Holstein in Ihren Spalten einem gleichen Embargo begegnen sollte, so wäre es doch ein wenig unerwartet und sonderbar. . . . Zu derbe, zu ungewiegt, zu ätzend, zu rücksichtslos, heißt es, sei die Phrase und Sie zweifeln sogar, ob kühnes und energisches Reden jetzt auch zeitgemäß und der gefährdeten Sache dienlich sei. Mit ängstlichen Gemüthern ist nicht zu unterhandeln und was Catilina am entscheidenden Tage zu seinem Herrn sprach, weiß jedermann, der sich in Sallustius umgesehen hat. . . . Auf Besprechung der inländischen Politik im Allgemeinen und der deutschen Dinge insbesondere muß man unter solchen Umständen, wenigstens in Ihrem Blatt, verzichten. . . . In der Politik anders zu reden als sich das Wort im Innern bildet, wäre mir unmöglich und in entscheidenden Krisen den Gedanken ungeschminkt herauszustellen, ist meine ganze Diplomatenkunst, was bei Ihnen freilich kaum als mittelmäßige Empfehlung gilt. Ganz probat und unverdächtig, wie es scheint, wären jetzt in der 'gutgesinnten' deutschen Presse nur nervenlose Gedanken in cynisch-akademisch-Lasaulx-Ringseis-Münchener-Universitäts-Kapucinerstyl."

Saat der . . . unwissenden und erbosten Fanatiker des 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderts ist leider auch in unseren Tagen nicht ausgestorben und es ließen sich, nur aus den beiden letzten Jahren, in Deutschland und Bayern merkwürdige Parallelen ziehen." Aus obigen Beispielen darf man wohl schließen, daß die Redaktion jetzt nicht mehr zögerte, Kirchenfeindliches zu bringen, während es zwei Jahre vorher mit den "Schattenrissen aus der Paulskirche" bedenklich gewesen. Tat man aber Fallmerayer einen guten Dienst mit der Aufnahme der Bender-Besprechung? Fast scheint es, als ob man ihn durch die Erscheinung dieser langen Tirade vor weiteren Auslassungen abschrecken wollte. Nicht undenkbar wäre es aber auch, daß Kolb (oder Mebold in dessen Abwesenheit) durch Fallmerayers Proteste an die Redaktion der Zensur beweisen wollte, daß man sein Möglichstes tue, den Fragmentisten in Schranken zu halten.

*(Schluß folgt)*

## THE SYMBOLIC END OF HERMANN HESSE'S "GLASPERLENSPIEL"

By HILDE D. COHN

The importance of the final episode of a narrative work is perhaps debatable. With novels such as *Wilhelm Meister*, *Nachsommer*, and *Zauberberg* we associate as the foremost feature either a certain curve of events or the picture we have of the main character, episodes of his life with its ups and downs, his environment, and his friends. Especially with that type of epic work usually called *Entwicklungsroman*, we remember the development as such, the various phases and stations of the hero's life, rather than the place and moment when we lose sight of him.

How does this question of the final episode and its importance apply to the *Glasperlenspiel*? Does the end come too suddenly and therefore effect surprise rather than satisfaction? Is not Josef Knecht's death a kind of bravado finale, which, moreover, deprives us of the happy outlook which we are justified in expecting? Is it not a sort of makeshift which, although forcefully constructed, in retrospect disturbs the proportions of the whole? To these questions the answer should be definitively no. The end of the *Glasperlenspiel* and its symbolic significance are of decisive importance as the key to the poet's intention and as a characteristic which, both in structure and content, reveals the nature of the work.

In presenting my point of view I shall attempt to get at the heart of the matter by keeping the discussion within the matter itself, by reading what is there and suggesting why it is so and not otherwise. Whether or not we agree with the decision that led the poet to emphasize one thing and to neglect another is a different question. First, however, it seems necessary to outline clearly what was obviously most important to the author. Whether other things had to be sacrificed in order to carry out his primary concern is, after all, a personal and, for the interpretation, secondary consideration.

The title *Glasperlenspiel* brings together the two themes that run through the book and points to the intersection where the two themes are most intimately and significantly linked: the highest accomplishment of the Order of Castalia and the climax of Knecht's career within the Order. One theme, then, deals with the Castalian myth,<sup>1</sup> with the history of the Order, and with the nature of the game of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oskar Seidlin, "Hermann Hesses *Glasperlenspiel*," *Germanic Review*, XXIII (1948), 264: "Kastalien ist nicht Utopie, sondern Mythos: d.h. Konkretisierung eines Ewigen, eines Etwas, das war, das ist und das sein wird. Und dieses Ewige ist der reine, in sich selbst ruhende und sich selbst genügende Geist."

glass beads which the members of the Order see as their highest intellectual activity and contribution. While Castalia's *raison d'être* and philosophy are reported in an ironic undertone with the awareness of its enlightening message to an audience outside the Order, the rites and functions are acted out in the life story of the prominent Castalian citizen, Josef Knecht. The result is a gentle dramatization of the Castalian theme: the fresco, which depicts a very special form of life, becomes action; the main figures step forward, and we see and hear how the fundamental principles outlined by the historian are worked out. Castalia is therefore not only the scenic background of Knecht's own biography. With delicate skill certain highlights of Knecht's life are linked with essential aspects of the pedagogical province, such as Knecht's initiation into the school by the music master, his apprenticeship with the Older Brother, his mission to the Benedictine monastery, and, most important in view of both themes, his last conversation with Alexander, the highest official of the Order. At this point, after the showdown between the two opposite fronts, the Castalian myth recedes into the background of the story. Yet, its presence can still be felt, though it is seen from a new perspective. From now on the visual picture of Castalia, although no dimmer than in the beginning, seems very far away. Like a distant sight observed through reversed binoculars, it is now pushed toward the horizon by a new vigorous reality which hence appears in the foreground. While the final episode no longer touches directly on the Castalian theme, this is completely consistent with the nature of a myth which has neither a beginning nor a precise end. And so the theme "Castalia" does not call for a conclusion—it continues to exist in our mind.

Within the structure of the whole the Castalian theme figures as a solid and constant complex of forms in contrast to the moving line of the second theme, Josef Knecht's life history. This biography does not result in a traditional *Entwicklungsroman*, since it is neither an *Entwicklung* nor a *Roman*. The simplicity of the plot, the lack of variety in background and scenery, the fairly small number of characters, the absence of the spirit of adventure which is so conspicuously present in Hans Castorp's seven-year apprenticeship, all make it quite certain that Hesse had something different in mind. He tells the story of a man whose essential qualities are clearly present from the beginning and whose main development consists in an increasing clarity and consciousness of himself.<sup>2</sup> It is this inner process, *das Bewußtwerden an sich*, which is the real core of the second theme, although it is significant for the Castalian theme as well. (Castalia's educational method of meditation has the same aim.) The fact that Knecht himself knows that his nature has not been basically changed or

<sup>2</sup> This is, to be sure, also the case in the traditional *Entwicklungsroman*, but far less exclusively so.

molded by his education is expressed in a vision which he has at a very decisive moment of his life, when he is about to be called upon to take the highest office within the community of the "Glasperlenspiel":

In dem Bilde folgte Knecht, ein Knabe, auf mancherlei Gängen dem vorangehenden Meister nach, welcher als Führer vor ihm schritt und mit jedem Male, wo er sich umwandte und sein Gesicht zeigte, älter, stiller und ehrwürdiger wurde, zusehends einem Idealbild zeitloser Weisheit und Würde sich annähernd, während er, Josef Knecht, hingegeben und gehorsam hinter dem Vorbilde herschritt, aber immer derselbe Knabe blieb, worüber er abwechselnd bald Beschämung, bald aber auch eine gewisse Freude, ja beinahe etwas wie trotzige Genugtuung empfand (I, 342 f.).

Two other details show clearly that the real and truly legitimate motif of Knecht's biography is this process of the growing consciousness of his own self: the one, that he counts the important stages of his life, his progress, by his experiences of "awakening" (II, 159 ff.); and the other, that he writes poetry. Both are, of course, experiences of a highly subjective nature, and both result in a clarification of himself and of the role he is to play in life. The latter is brought about consciously, the former subconsciously. The type of poetry Knecht writes is just as characteristic as the place it receives in the book. It is of a predominantly intellectual sort, written less for the sake of emotional liberation or aesthetic achievement than for the sake of making an inventory of his views, doubts, and hopes concerning himself and the world in which he lives.<sup>3</sup> It is a poetry that is very different from most of Hesse's verse, including those inserted in other narratives, and the "editor's" comment makes the inner circumstances under which it was written quite clear:

Es ist wohl möglich, daß diese Gedichte, deren früheste noch vor Knechts Einführung ins Glasperlenspiel entstanden sind, mitgeholfen haben ihm die Durchführung seiner Rolle und das Überstehen jener kritischen Jahre zu ermöglichen. . . . Es klingt in mancher Zeile eine tiefe Beunruhigung, ein grundsätzlicher Zweifel an sich selbst und am Sinn seines Daseins . . . es bedurfte eines hohen Druckes, um diese Produktivität in Fluß zu bringen, und es gehörte ein gewisser trotziger Mut dazu, diese Verse zu schreiben und sich zu ihnen zu bekennen (I, 160 f.).

The poems in the second volume are placed between Knecht's biography and the three imaginary biographies. This arrangement has, I think, a definite purpose. Placing Knecht's creative writings together, and after the end of the story proper, serves to emphasize the real motif of Knecht's life and death and Hesse's main concern

<sup>3</sup> One example from the poem "Dienst": "... Und unser ist das Amt, im Niedergang / Durch Zeichenspiel, durch Gleichnis und Gesang / Fortzubewahren heiliger Ehrfurcht Mahnung" (Bd. II, 253). Cf. Curt von Faber du Faur, "Hermann Hesses *Glasperlenspiel*," *Monatshefte*, XL (1948), 179: "Diese Gedichte sind ausdrücklich als Werke 'des Schülers und Studenten' bezeichnet, sie haben also mit Knechts Reife nichts zu tun, als daß sie sein Problem vorahnen."

in presenting the story: *das Bewußtwerden an sich*. The poems, as well as the three biographical exercises of the student Knecht which follow them, are the most transparent crystallizations of this process.

Why at the end? Why not, as would have been entirely possible, within or between the chapters where they would fit in chronologically and could illustrate the various phases or moods? The latter arrangement would contradict the Castalian principle and would smack of the "journalistic period" and its preoccupation with details. Furthermore, since chronological time is of no importance in this story, the reader need not feel its passing, either in an articulate or in an accumulative sense. The story is told in the dimension of consciousness rather than in that of time. Knecht's writings are instrumental in the achievement of this spiritual aim. They are not illustrations of biographical episodes, as is a page of a diary or a contrapuntal development, like *Die Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele*. Their proper place is, therefore, after the completed biography. They are to be read almost as a will is read and to be understood as a comment and interpretation of the symbolic message of Knecht's life. His death and the significance of his writings are intimately bound up together. Indeed, the three autobiographical studies present three variations of the "finale" of the narrative. Moreover, the legendary character of the last chapter forms a bridge between the account of the "historically known" life and its spiritual legacy.

The arrangement of the whole book emphasizes the content and its idea so strikingly that it seems impossible to overestimate the importance of the final episode. The manner in which the narrative gathers speed toward the end does a great deal to accentuate the content itself. In contrast to the gradual and carefully prepared ending of an *Entwicklungsroman*, the end here comes as a surprise, as a *pointe*. And even if the length of the narrative may give the impression of a *Roman*, the *pointe* with its element of surprise and suddenness reveals the actual genre of the *Glasperlenspiel* as a *Novelle*.<sup>4</sup>

Hesse calls the last chapter "Die Legende," thereby emphasizing its unmistakable difference from the other chapters:

Josef Knecht hat innerhalb der Welt, in der wir, Autor und Leser dieser Aufzeichnungen leben, das denkbar Höchste erreicht und geleistet . . . er hat den Bezirk eines Meisters nicht bloß erreicht und innegehabt; er hat ihn durchschritten, er ist ihm entwachsen in eine Dimension, welche wir nur ehrerbietig zu ahnen vermögen, und eben darum scheint es uns vollkommen angemessen und seinem Leben entsprechend, daß auch seine Biographie die üblichen Dimensionen überschritten hat und am Ende in Legende übergegangen ist (I, 70 f.).

The story itself changes key here, moves to another level, in order to communicate a different kind of truth—a truth much closer to the

<sup>4</sup> From a somewhat different consideration Oskar Seidlin arrived at the same conclusion. *Loc. cit.*, p. 271. The term *Erzählung* would be technically more correct, since we are dealing here with an "open" form of the *Novelle*, in which the end is three times repeated.

writings of Knecht than to the historical truth of the previous chapters—a truth, furthermore, experienced by a man whose stature is the source of legends in his honor. For, although Knecht's fate is peculiarly his own, it is at the same time the fate of men like him anywhere, at any time—his legend becomes symbolic.

The title "Legende" suggests miracle, holiness, suffering, salvation, and grace. With all this in mind, we read of Knecht's separation from Castalia, his arrival in the outside world and finally in Belpunt, whose very name indicates the bridge to another realm. Castalia lies behind him—only physically, of course. Or does his resignation mean that Castalia was an error, a mere fantasy, the soap bubble of a playful mind? The answer lies, I think, in the transition of the story to the world of absolute reality; this shift in itself is the answer. Only from a different plane does it become clear what Castalia means: an idea, a myth, an attitude beyond space and time.<sup>5</sup>

The perspective afforded by the shift of the story is one of ironic reconciliation, which could only be gained outside Castalia. It is an irony derived from love and longing, an irony without which all human effort and aspiration would remain limp—*ohne Spannung*. Only in contrast to reality can Castalia assume a beauty and lucidity of its own; only the spectator's perspective can give depth and contour to the scene: Castalia. In this frame of ironic retrospection the Castalian ideal appears not unlike the figures in a Greek temple frieze representing stories that no human eye has witnessed, but which nevertheless have given power to the hands that built the temple.

Es muß das Herz bei jedem Lebensrufe  
Bereit zum Abschied sein und Neubeginne,  
Um sich in Tapferkeit und ohne Trauern  
In neue, andre Bindungen zu geben.  
Und jedem Anfang wohnt ein Zauber inne,  
Der uns beschützt und der uns hilft zu leben.

The poem from which these lines are quoted serves as a key to the understanding of both Knecht's departure from Castalia and the final episode of the book. Thus its history and the critical comment made on it by Knecht's friend, Fritz Tegularius, are significant beyond their immediate content.

Knecht wrote this poem as a student at the House of Oriental Studies and later gave the manuscript to Tegularius. The original title, which in fact preceded the poem, was "Transzendieren!" Later, in a different mood and due to a new orientation toward life, it was changed to "Stufen." The change in attitude expressed by the new title is emphasized by the remark that "Stufen" is written in a thinner, smaller, and more modest hand than the first title.

<sup>5</sup> How much time matters *now* is illustrated by a little episode, the like of which did not and could not appear in the previous chapters. It is Tito's disappearance, his running ahead. Note also Tito's obsession with time again in the swimming race.



Knecht then "forgot" the poem. But on his last day in Castalia, after reading the negative answer to his petition, he recalls a line or two, not realizing at first that he wrote them himself. On the evening of the same day, he feels a personal and moral obligation to call on his friend Tegularius, although he cannot tell him the actual reason for his visit. He chooses the poem as the topic of their talk, hoping perhaps that the implications of their discussion will later help Tegularius to understand his momentous decision. Tegularius, significantly, had not forgotten the poem. For him it meant no *Urerlebnis* as for Knecht, but was a token of friendship and an intellectual and aesthetic document. Hence his criticism. Tegularius dislikes the poem; he feels that a tone of moral command spoils its potential beauty. The original title "Transzendieren!" had sounded to him like an order to march, and although he feels that the new title "Stufen" is a definite improvement, he suggests an even more appropriate one, "Musik" or "Wesen der Musik." For, to him, the poem is a hymn on music, on its serenity, and on its readiness to move from one place to the next:

Wäre es bei dieser Betrachtung oder diesem Lobgesang über den Geist der Musik geblieben, hättet Ihr nicht, offenbar schon damals von einem Erzieher-Ehrgeiz beherrscht, eine Mahnung und Predigt daraus gemacht, so könnte das Gedicht ein vollkommenes Kleinod sein. So wie es vorliegt, scheint es mir nicht nur zu lehrhaft, zu lehrerhaft, sondern es scheint mir auch an einem Denkfehler zu kranken. Es setzt, lediglich der moralischen Wirkung wegen, Musik und Leben einander gleich, was mindestens sehr fragwürdig und bestreitbar ist, es macht aus dem natürlichen und moralfreien Motor, der die Triebfeder der Musik ist, ein "Leben," das uns durch Zurufe, Befehle und gute Lehren erziehen und entwickeln will. Kurz, es wird in diesem Gedicht eine Vision, etwas Einmaliges, Schönes und Großartiges zu Lehrzwecken verfälscht und ausgenutzt, und dies ist es, was mich schon immer dagegen eingenommen hat (II, 153 f.).

Knecht answers:

Möchtest du recht haben! . . . Als ich die Verse machte, handelten sie ja schon nicht mehr von der Musik, sondern von einem Erlebnis, dem Erlebnis nämlich, daß das schöne musikalische Gleichnis mir seine moralische Seite gezeigt hatte und zur Weckung und Mahnung, zum Lebensruf in mir geworden war. Die imperative Form des Gedichtes, die dir besonders mißfällt, ist nicht Ausdruck eines Befehlen- und Belehrenwollens, denn der Befehl, die Mahnung ist nur an mich selbst gerichtet (II, 154 f.).

Fritz Tegularius, with his irritable, asocial, artistic, and scholarly trends, represents an earlier Hermann Hesse. His concept and criticism of the poem point in the same direction as do those of numerous readers with regard to the end of the *Glasperlenspiel*. It is merely an aesthetic criticism which, I think, misses the point. The "error" in Tegularius' criticism lies in his interpretation of the word *Zauber*. In all probability he saw in it only an aesthetic charm and attraction, an aesthetic pleasure. To Knecht it meant that and more—a magic spell. And it is this meaning of *Zauber* to which the interpretation of

the story's end must be anchored. It is the magic spell of a new beginning which made Knecht's heart beat faster in anticipation of his leave from his office, on his trip into the world, and on his voyage up the mountain. It is the magic spell which enters Knecht's life with the recollection of the poem, which touches even trifling objects with a gleam of newness (the little flute, the Rückert poem). It is the magic spell which permeates the entire book, although it becomes most pronounced in the last chapter. It rises as a wave to a first height in the morning scene at the lake, continues in the three biographies, and reaches another crest in Knecht's boyhood initiation by Turu.

This scene from the *Regenmacher* story, which chronologically precedes our final episode, furnishes another source for interpretation. It anticipates an action which, once accomplished, appears "merely" as a natural consequence or a test of perseverance. For the boy's initiation by Turu, as conceived by Josef Knecht when a student, is much more than a literary parallel—it points to the root and center of Knecht's inner life. The reader, who feels disappointed by the suddenness of Knecht's death and misses a series of realistic events demonstrating Knecht's accomplishments in the outside world, may discover in this scene the outlines and prospects of new variations following the pattern of the two related scenes. Turu and young Knecht, Knecht as a man and Tito form only the beginning of an unending chain of generations.<sup>6</sup> The idea of communication and tradition which underlies this pattern is, moreover, not inconsistent with the Castalian idea. In its wider scope it may even represent the desired and desirable bridge between the exclusive intellectual tradition of Castalia and that of "life" in all its aspects.

The number of features in the initiation scene which recall similar details in the final episode of the story proper is striking: the early morning (eine Stunde zwischen Nacht und Morgen), a projecting

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Walter Naumann, "The Individual and Society in the Work of Hermann Hesse," *Monatshefte*, XLI (1949), 34: "His [Knecht's] duty in his life is to pass on from one generation to the next an inspiration which prompts man to a full awareness of his situation in life. . . . There is no reason for despair. . . . That is the intended teaching of the final scene of the *Glasperlenspiel*. There will always be a new beginning . . . there will always be another human, like Knecht, to transmit a sense of responsibility to the younger generation" (*ibid.*, p. 40). The most interesting reference in this connection seems to me the last sentence from a letter which Hermann Hesse wrote to a young reader who was deeply shocked by Knecht's sudden death. The mere fact that this letter was written—and it is no accident that it is addressed to a young reader—serves as a living example of Hesse's faith in the unbroken line of communication from one generation to the next, no matter what reaction this communication may at first evoke. He writes: "Schließlich ist es gar nicht so wichtig, ob Sie . . . mit dem Verstand diesen Tod Knechts begreifen und billigen. Er hat in Ihnen, so wie er es in Tito getan hat, einen Stachel hinterlassen, eine nicht mehr ganz zu vergessende Mahnung, er hat eine geistige Sehnsucht und ein geistiges Gewissen in Ihnen geweckt oder bestärkt, welche weiter wirken werden auch wenn die Zeit kommt, wo Sie mein Buch und Ihren Brief vergessen haben werden. Hören Sie nur auf diese Stimme, die jetzt nicht mehr aus einem Buch, sondern in Ihrem eigenen Innern spricht, sie wird Sie weiter führen." Cf. "Ein Briefwechsel," *Die Neue Rundschau*, X (1948), 244-45. Another part of the letter is quoted in note 10.

piece of rock in the woods, the physical sensation of coolness felt by the boy who shivers from lack of sleep, the rising moon, the solitude of the extraordinary hour shared with the master, his dual role as spectator and actor, and, above all, the solemn mood of the unique occasion described by a series of almost synonymous terms: Feier und Mysterium; Feier der Initiation; Aufnahme in einen Bund und Kult, in ein dienendes aber ehrenvolles Verhältnis zum Unnennbaren, zum Weltgeheimnis.

The significance of this scene in the *Regenmacher* story and its illuminating function within the book, especially with regard to the closing scene of the narrative, become clear from Turu's speech and from the vow of young Knecht. While looking at the rising constellation, Turu proclaims his creed and vision: "When I die, my spirit will fly to the moon. You will then be a man and have a wife—my daughter Ada will be your wife. When she has a son, my spirit will come back and live in your son, and you will call him Turu, as my name was Turu."

The apprentice listens, hearing for the first time the voice of the spirit, its allure and claim, and its magic call. It is his first "awakening," the hour of his spiritual birth, just as the hour of Knecht's supreme sacrifice marks the turning point in Tito's life. The only difference in the recurrence of the experience is that Turu at the moment of initiation only speaks of his imminent death, while Knecht acts, thus incurring his physical death. He need not speak any more. Tito, as we know from the preceding dance in which he offers his soul to the gods and to the older friend, is ready for his new beginning.<sup>7</sup> If Knecht had spoken, he could only have repeated what he wrote into the initiation scene. The vow with which the following passage ends is the motivation of his life and is to become that of Tito:

. . . es war die Ahnung vom Ganzen, die ihn getroffen hatte, das Gefühl der Zusammenhänge und Beziehungen, der Ordnungen, die ihn selbst mit einbezog und mitverantwortlich machte. . . .

Es mußte, so schien es Knecht in jenem Augenblick, im riesigen Netz der Zusammenhänge einen Mittelpunkt geben, von dem aus alles gewußt, alles Vergangene und alles Kommende gesehen und abgelesen werden konnte. Dem, der an diesem Mittelpunkt stünde, mußte das Wissen zulaufen wie dem Tal das Wasser und dem Kohl der Hase, sein Wort mußte scharf und unfehlbar treffen

<sup>7</sup> *Das Glasperlenspiel*, II, 232-33. "Vieles traf in dieser Morgenstunde im Schicksal des jungen Tito und in seiner Seele zusammen, um die Stunde vor tausend andern als eine hohe, festliche, geweihte auszuzeichnen. Ohne zu wissen, was er tue, ohne Kritik und ohne Argwohn, tat er, was der selige Augenblick von ihm verlangte, tanzte seine Andacht, betete zur Sonne, bekannte in hingeebenen Bewegungen und Gebärden seine Freude, seinen Lebensglauben, seine Frömmigkeit und Ehrfurcht, brachte stolz zugleich und ergeben der Sonne und den Göttern im Tanz seine fromme Seele zum Opfer dar und nicht minder dem Bewunderten und auch Gefürchteten, dem Weisen und Musiker, dem aus geheimnisvollen Bezirken kommenden Meister des magischen Spieles, seinem künftigen Erzieher und Freunde. . . . Ergriffen sah Knecht dem wunderbaren Schauspiel zu, in welchem der Schüler vor seinen Augen sich verwandelte und enthüllte, ihm neu und fremd und vollwertig als seinesgleichen entgegentrat."

wie der Stein aus der Hand des Scharfschützen . . . dies wäre der vollkommene, weise, unübertreffliche Mensch! So wie er zu werden, sich ihm zu nähern, zu ihm unterwegs zu sein: das war der Weg der Wege, das war das Ziel, das gab einem Leben Weihe und Sinn (II, 231).

Knecht, Tito's teacher and friend, has reached his goal, the center towards which he wandered all his life. He is once more ready for a transformation. His end is at the same time a beginning, not only for Tito, but for himself as well. At the last turn of his life's journey a new companion joins him and takes the reins for the final part of the way: the god Eros. Touched by his power, which he had never felt before, Knecht is now moved in the direction sensed and predicted in the poem "Stufen":

Es wird vielleicht auch noch die Todesstunde  
Uns neuen Räumen jung entgegenenden,  
Des Lebens Ruf an uns wird niemals enden . . .  
Wohlan denn, Herz, nimm Abschied und gesunde!

In his last transformation Knecht enters new, unknown, and mysterious bonds, not as one who flees, but as one who is called—called back to the source of life. Only now is his state of isolation overcome; the spot in his heart which had been dead and empty is called upon and can respond, whole and young, to take him to new spheres—home.<sup>8</sup> As he takes leave, he does not go as a master, but as a beginner in a new, inexperienced role, a "Knecht," the name by which Faust is singled out by the Lord.

The condition peculiar to the process of "awakening" is, as Knecht once said, not the amount of truth but of reality. In this festive hour, illuminated by the new day, everything that he asked for during the various stages of his life is now real and present. The human being who needs him (II, 90), the necessity of an irrevocable act, the need to let go and to risk the leap into the unknown (I, 113), and even the symbol *Mong*: "Oben der Berg, unten das Wasser . . . Gleichnis der Jugend" (I, 200).

The second part of the dream (I, 342 f.) which we mentioned earlier has come true at this instant. It is the dream cycle which revealed to him the eternal flow of life in the picture of the circling race between old and young, in which the dreamer figured now as the old, now as the young, and, at one point, as the man who engineered, directed, and watched the constant movement. Now, when he himself is in the center, no longer dreaming, standing firmly on the ground at the edge of the water, he includes himself in the cycle of life, "den ergebnislos in der Runde spielenden Wettlauf von alt und jung . . ." (I, 344).<sup>9</sup> That is the reason Knecht follows Tito's suggestion of the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the famous sentence of Novalis, whose poetry is of paramount importance for Hesse: "Wohin gehen wir? Immer nach Hause."

<sup>9</sup> Knecht includes himself in the cycle of life just as Faust does by his descent to the Mothers. "Er schließt sich an, er folgt als treuer Knecht" (*Faust* II, "Finstere Galerie"). It seems to me not at all unlikely that the name of Hesse's hero

swimming race. In doing so, he follows his will rather than his instinct to save himself.<sup>10</sup> As he is ready to follow the voice of youth, which desires the Unreasonable, he follows Life, convinced that Life, in its turn, by virtue of his sacrifice will call Tito one step closer to its center and open up before him "die Ahnung vom Ganzen, das Gefühl der Zusammenhänge und Beziehungen."

The idea of death and rebirth expressed in Turu's speech is symbolized by the manner of Knecht's death, his drowning in the mountain lake. Water represents here, as frequently in Hesse's work, those powers of nature which are in constant flow, which absorb and re-create.<sup>11</sup> The pictorial presence of the lake is meaningful for the two concluding scenes of the final episode: Tito's dance of worship to the sun and Knecht's death. In both, the religious significance of water, baptism, is felt and applies equally to Tito who is to emerge from the waters and to Knecht who is to be submerged in them. For both, water becomes the means of regeneration. Although it is probably less the religious meaning of water that is intended than the nature symbol of water, the association is recalled in the German words: *Taufe, eintauchen, tief*.<sup>12</sup> Knecht and Tito, whose friendship was established before their separation, share for a moment the purifying and enveloping element of the water which contributes to the effect of this symbolic representation.<sup>13</sup>

Of Knecht's childhood before his acceptance in the elite schools, only one single event is known. It is, however, an event of "symbolic

has something to do with this passage, which is relevant to Knecht's fate; especially the line "Doch im Erstarren such ich nicht mein Heil," and Mephisto's command: "Versinke denn! Ich könnt auch sagen: steige!" might possibly be "sources" for Knecht's character and story.

<sup>10</sup> Hermann Hesse's comment on Knecht's death from his letter quoted in note 6 reads: "Er hätte, klug und fein, es unterlassen können, trotz seiner Erkrankung den Sprung ins Bergwasser zu tun. Er tut ihn dennoch, weil etwas in ihm stärker ist als die Klugheit, weil er diesen schwer zu gewinnenden Knaben nicht enttäuschen kann, und er hinterläßt einen Tito, dem dieser Opfertod eines ihm weit überlegenen Mannes zeitlebens Mahnung und Führung bedeuten und ihn mehr erziehen wird als alle Predigten der Weisen."

<sup>11</sup> *Unterm Rad, Siddharta*, "Klein und Wagner," from *Klingsors letzter Sommer*. Cf. Hugo Ball, *Hermann Hesse: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1933), p. 170: "Die Lehre des Siddharta . . . führt vom Priesterhause weg an den Fluß, zum Natursymbol."

<sup>12</sup> Luther: "denn auch on zweifel in deudscher zungen das wörtlin touffe herkömpt von dem wort tieffe, das man tieff ins wasser senket, was man teuffet." Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1935), XI, 1.1.187.

<sup>13</sup> Hermann Hesse's familiarity with the ideas and writings of C. G. Jung is well known, and I have not referred to it at other points of this paper because it is not concerned with the sources of Hesse's philosophy. The symbolism of water is treated by Jung in the chapter "Symbolism of Mother and Rebirth" in *Psychology of the Unconscious* (London, 1919), p. 135: "The maternal significance of water belongs to the clearest symbolism in the realm of mythology, so that the ancient could say: The sea is the symbol of birth." An opinion on the same subject, based, however, on anthropological evidence, can be found in an address by W. H. R. Rivers, "The Symbolism of Rebirth," *Folklore*, LXXXII (1922), 14 ff.

importance" (I, 71), because it meant the first claim of the spirit on him, "den ersten Akt seiner Berufung." It is his first meeting with the music master who comes to examine him, an experience which, characteristically, lived on in his dreams. The event with which his life ends is in all its spiritual aspects linked to the first; in an active as well as a passive sense it is once more "ein Akt der Berufung." And how else than by telling a *historia tradendi* can a poet close, thus planting in his final episode the seeds of faith, hope, and continuation?

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## REVIEWS

*Dizionario Letterario Bompiani delle Opere e dei Personaggi di tutti i Tempi e di tutte le Letterature.* Redattore Capo: Celestino Capasso; Milano: Bompiani Editore, 1947-49. Vol. I, pp. xv + 344-491; Vol. II, pp. xi + 876; Vol. III, pp. xi + 779; Vol. IV, pp. xi + 855; Vol. V, pp. xi + 890; Vol. VI, pp. xi + 916; Vol. VII, pp. xi + 935. \$15.00 per volume.

Nel 1946 la casa editrice Bompiani di Milano pubblicò il primo volume di questa magnifica enciclopedia, della quale ne è stato pubblicato recentemente il settimo volume. Questa opera è senza dubbio una delle più belle e complete che il genio letterario italiano abbia mai prodotto ed è un supplemento, sebbene in una maniera differente, ma pure maestosa, all'opera enciclopedica cominciata nel 1929, dall'Istituto Treccani.

Nell'*Avvertenza* del primo volume, l'editore ci informa che l'opera *consterà di sei grossi volumi di più che mille pagine ciascuno*,<sup>1</sup> opera alla quale hanno contribuito circa cinquecento Collaboratori, *scelti tra gli studiosi più illustri e più autorevoli che vanti oggi l'Italia*. Uno sguardo alla lista di detti Collaboratori e scorgeremo i nomi di A. Momigliano, F. Flora, M. Praz, M. Casella, A. Pellegrini, A. Tilgher (ora defunto), C. Cordiè, G. Gabetti; studiosi questi conosciutissimi ed apprezzatissimi, per la loro opera di critica e di ricerca, sia in Italia che in questo paese.

Il *Dizionario* è diviso in tre parti:

I. *Movimenti Spirituali*. Questo attento e meticoloso studio occupa la prima parte del primo volume (344 pagine) e serve come una specie d'introduzione al *Dizionario*; lo studio è tutto rivolto verso i 56 Movimenti Spiritualia, dall'*Alessandrino* all'*Umanesimo*. L'Editore ha considerato ogni movimento individualmente, anche se alcuni di essi potrebbero essere stati raggruppati per le loro simili caratteristiche (per esempio: *Marinismo*, *Preziosismo*, *Gongorismo* e *Eufuismo*). Inclusi in questa parte si possono trovare dei brevi ma ottimi studi sui recenti movimenti italiani, dei quali molte storie della letteratura italiana non danno che un troppo vago accenno (si veda, per esempio, i capitoli sul Crepuscolarismo e sul Futurismo).

II. *Opere*. Questa parte occupa la seconda metà del primo volume ed il resto della collezione sinora pubblicata. Qui lo studente e lo studioso troveranno, in ordine alfabetico, le varie opere maggiori e spesso minori non solo di uomini di lettere, nel senso più limitato della parola, ma quelle di filosofi, artisti, musicisti, sociologi, scienziati di tutte le nazionalità. I titoli di queste opere, qualora si tratti di letteratura straniera, sono citati sempre *nella traduzione italiana più aderente, seguita dal titolo originale chiuso tra parentesi quadre. Per le letterature orientali si sono conservati i titoli originali sotto i quali le opere sono universalmente riconosciute*. Ogni voce contiene, assieme ai dati biografici dell'autore, una succinta esposizione dell'opera, seguita da uno o due giudizi critici. Ogni articolo è firmato, per mezzo di una sigla, dall'autore responsabile. Qualora

<sup>1</sup> Evidentemente l'editore decise più tardi che sei volumi non sarebbero stati sufficienti, e aggiunse altri due volumi a questo grande progetto, l'ultimo dei quali non è stato ancora pubblicato.



si tratti di letteratura straniera, anche il nome dell'autore della migliore traduzione è dato.

III (a). *Dizionario dei Personaggi*. Questo sarà un *repertorio di quelle creature drammatiche*, create dalla fantasia dell'artista, le quali vivono oggi giorno *d'una loro vita perenne*.

(b). *Tavole Sinottiche*. Quest'ultima parte sarà dedicata allo studio delle varie civiltà e dei loro sviluppi, e ai cambiamenti evolutivi delle varie lingue.

Il lettore può ben immaginare l'importanza rilevante di quest'opera, la quale, una volta pubblicata per intero (giacchè manca ancora la terza parte), concluderà un lavoro vastissimo svoltosi da circa quattordici anni.

Tutte le barriere linguistiche sono state sormontate, giacchè questo *Dizionario* tratta non solo la letteratura europea antica e moderna, ma anche quella orientale, nord-americana e ibero-americana. Come facilmente si potrebbe prevedere, e come del resto ce lo avverte l'Editore nella sua *Avvertenza*, manca a questo *Dizionario* molta dell'opera del periodo moderno, eccetto quella dei *maggiori scrittori, la cui opera si può considerare conclusa o sicuramente definita*. Conseguentemente, per esempio, la parte ibero-americana in ispecial modo, non è troppo ricca, dato che molta parte di questa letteratura si afferma maggiormente nel periodo moderno.

Un posto particolarmente e degnamente importante è dato ai "Grandi" delle varie letterature, e l'Editore ha arricchito le pagine sui lavori di Dante, Cervantes, Goethe, Shelley, Byron, Manzoni di bellissime illustrazioni bianche e nere e a colori, oltre alle dettagliatissime informazioni biografiche e critiche. Nel caso degli scrittori maggiori persino i lavori più secondari sono stati analizzati e discussi a fondo. Il *Dizionario* si occupa, altresì minutamente, dei lavori filosofici, storici, critici e religiosi; fra questi, troveremo gli scritti di Karl Marx, Croce, Hegel, Kant, Spengler, Schopenhauer, etc.

L'unica obiezione che lo studente troverà a quest'opera, e specialmente se lo studente sarà straniero, sarà costituita dal fatto che i titoli delle opere sono stati in traduzione, invece della versione originale. L'Editore però ci avverte nell'ultimo volume finora pubblicato, che l'ultima parte di quest'opera includerà gli *Indici dei titoli originali, degli autori e della tavole fuori testo*.

Il *Dizionario* Bompiani quindi, per le ragioni date sopra, potrà facilmente essere usato da coloro che non conoscono le varie traduzioni dei titoli originali in italiano. E sarà precisamente quest'ultima parte che renderà il *Dizionario* un'opera più universale.

Intanto noi non possiamo che ammirare questa prova del genio intellettuale italiano, e congratulare di vivo cuore l'Editore Valentino Bompiani e i suoi Collaboratori per il loro spirito creativo; essi hanno dato al mondo intero, in una era d'incertezza e d'inquietudine, una nuova ragione per riaffermare la nostra fede nelle immense risorse culturali del nostro popolo.

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*Le Faubourg Saint-Germain sous l'Empire et la Restauration*. Par JULES BERTAUT. Paris: Bibliothèque Historia, Editions Tallandier, 1949. 315 pages.

Le sujet de ce livre est introduit par le résumé puissant du premier chapitre qui s'intitule "Vue cavalière du Faubourg." Le lecteur y apprend ou réapprend que le Paris de la haute classe et de la noblesse a eu son centre qui s'est déplacé

au cours de l'histoire de France pour se situer au Foubourg Saint-Germain vers la fin du dix-huitième siècle. Le Faubourg a connu sa période d'éclat sous le règne de Charles X. Alors il avait son unité de vues, influait sur la mode et les usages et décidait parfois la marche des événements mais il céda la place vers 1830 à la Chaussée d'Antin, composée de gens de finance, d'industriels enrichis et de riches étrangers.

Livre charmant, fin, très chinois, dont la lecture semble nécessaire à l'antiquaire et de nature à réjouir le collectionneur par l'énumération, sobre dans son abondance même, des choses qui ont trait au vêtement, à l'habitat, aux voitures etc. (voir par exemple pages 20 et 54). Aucune bibliographie à la fin de l'ouvrage mais l'érudition trouve son compte dans le contexte, qu'il s'agisse du *Code gourmand* (p. 47), de *L'Art de causer* (p. 51) ou du *Bon Ton* (p. 56). Le miroitement en est pourtant un peu fatigant à la longue mais le sujet même comporte cette fatalité. La perspective ressort admirablement de cette multiplicité si vivante des choses, des types et des usages. Un chapitre traite du salon ultra de l'ambassadeur d'Autriche Apponyi où le pouvoir des d'Orléans était raillié; un autre, du salon pieux de madame Swetchine. Encore un autre parle des plaisirs du Faubourg: en premier lieu venait la promenade de Longchamp, puis les réceptions de l'Académie quand elles touchaient l'aristocratie, enfin l'Opéra ou plutôt le ballet de l'Opéra car cette société abandonnait le *bel canto* au théâtre des Italiens où "une note perdue était considérée calamité publique" mais où c'était autant de gagné à l'Opéra. Là un groupe de choix se réservait une loge placée au bon endroit pour le ballet, détail osé pour lequel un renvoi suffit (p. 70). Si le sujet ne l'est pas, le style de cet ouvrage est abstrait et fait ressortir d'autant mieux les types et les anecdotes qui parlent pour eux-mêmes; telle cette mode du temps qui, à l'encontre de celle d'aujourd'hui voulait que les dames s'amplifient de coussins. Or madame de Crillon avait fait un pari et, pour se rendre compte, enfonça une épingle de six pouces dans la hanche de son amie madame de Podenas. Heureusement pour celle-ci c'était du faux! Enfin parmi les originaux du Faubourg on comptait le baron de Frénilly, surnommé "de Frénésie," au regard clairvoyant, et qui déjà regrettait que le conformisme démocratique fit tort au snobisme aristocratique; le tout aimable académicien Brifaut lui sert de repoussoir dans cet ouvrage. Louis XVIII, comme tout le monde, voulait du bien à Brifaut et donc l'honora du poste de censeur. Choix funeste étant donné le caractère de l'impétrant qui devait s'attirer entre autres colères celle, épique, de Victor Hugo!

L'auteur dit (p. 49) qu'il y a "encore dans cette société des artistes de la conversation qui vont vous juger en très peu de mots." Cet *encore* serait-il un historicisme? Oui s'il faut en croire Paul Valéry pour qui la véritable montée des classes est marquée par l'accès au salon, à l'endroit où vraiment l'on cause, quelle que soit l'éloquence des chiffres qui montrent l'enthousiasme pour les différents jeux de balle ou de ballon. Ce soin et ce respect de la conversation polie paraissent bien en tous cas, un des traits, et il y en a plusieurs dans le livre, où le sérieux de cette classe semble bien égaler celui de la bourgeoisie intellectuelle.

JEAN DAVID

University of Washington

*René Boylesve et le problème de l'amour.* By ANDRÉ BOURGEOIS. Lille: Librairie F. Girard; Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1950. Pp. 173.

Those who are interested in René Boylesve will enjoy André Bourgeois' illuminating analysis of that novelist's peculiar attitude toward love. M. Bourgeois' recent book is a penetrating and sympathetic psychological study in which he interprets Boylesve's conception of love and his literary treatment of it as the reflection of pathological circumstances in his early life that were to create complexes and inhibitions and to make of him forever after, in the words of M. Bourgeois, "une victime de l'amour" rather than "un ennemi de l'amour" as he has been called by some critics.

M. Bourgeois carefully analyzes the love theme of the various novels, and seeks to explain their somewhat baffling and apparently contradictory aspects by an elucidation of the conflict between idealism and reality with which their author was ceaselessly tormented. As is indicated by the introductory quotation from Jacques Madaule "Man does not wish to be happy—Happiness is within his grasp, but, in his thirst for suffering, he deliberately destroys it," he stresses Boylesve's tendency toward masochism which prevailed throughout his life and which, M. Bourgeois believes, largely determined the mold of his love novels.

M. Bourgeois admits that one may find in Boylesve what one wishes to find, and he accuses many critics of having approached him with too narrow a vision. It is obvious that he, himself, has striven to examine fully every phase of the problem in question, with the result that he has succeeded in disentangling many of its intricacies and reconciling many of its seeming inconsistencies.

CLOTILDE WILSON

University of Washington

*The Sources of "A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues,"* by Randle Cotgrave (London, 1611): *A Study in Renaissance Lexicography.* By VERA E. SMALLEY. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Extra Volume XXV, 1948. Pp. 252. \$4.00.

This volume represents a meticulous study of the sources utilized by Randle Cotgrave and his associates in compiling the *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*.

The technique used by Dr. Smalley has been a classification of the material in the *Dictionarie* under the letter *A* in an effort to determine what types of subject matter interested Cotgrave most, what proportions of these types are found under the letter *A* and presumably in the rest of the dictionary, and a study of his technique in compiling the list and definitions. It is admitted that this evidence will not be conclusive for the rest of the *Dictionarie* but will provide "an approximate basis for formulating a judgment on what types of matter Cotgrave used."

Of the 3,864 entries under the letter *A*, some 2,190 are found also in the dictionaries of Nicot, Holyband, Barrett, Palsgrave, Meurier, and Oudin, all of which, except Palsgrave, are based on some edition of Estienne's *Dictionaire françois-latin*. Another 623 entries under *A* are variants, derivatives, or grammatical forms of words included in the 2,190 taken from earlier dictionaries.

The remaining 1,051 items constitute material collected by Cotgrave himself. These may be divided as follows: legal expressions, 111; medical terms, 67; natural history, 158; technical expressions, 400; archaic, dialectal, compound, foreign, whimsical, and ghost words, 144; and 171 neologisms or words from contemporary literature.

The chief source of Cotgrave was Nicot's *Thresor* of 1606 rather than Holyband's *A Dictionarie French and English* (1593). A large proportion of the English translations in Cotgrave came from the bilingual dictionaries of Elyot, Cooper, Thomas, Florio, and Minsheu. Also used by Cotgrave were the numerous works on natural history, law, political science, and medicine. Words from literary sources required direct translation by the author or his associates.

Dr. Smalley concludes that Cotgrave's *Dictionarie* "is not the work of one man but of a group of men working under the direction of an editor, presumably Cotgrave himself"; that the *Dictionarie* was published as a business venture, rather than a scholarly project; that his debt to Holyband was primarily the idea of compiling a French-English dictionary; that the basis for Cotgrave's *Dictionarie* was Nicot's *Thresor*; and that his chief claim to lexicographical fame rests on the large number of words with which he enriched the dictionary vocabulary of his day.

Critics may object to Dr. Smalley's decision to base her study and conclusions primarily on the entries under the letter *A*. Short of a similar study of the whole dictionary, the technique which she chose seems as good as any other and probably more objective than most. There is a minor discrepancy in the conclusions reached. On page 42 she says that Cotgrave added some 12,500 words to the vocabulary of seventeenth-century French dictionaries. On page 215 she says that the number is some "twenty thousand."

This volume is a thorough analysis of the *Dictionarie* and reveals in an interesting way Cotgrave's methods of working. The conclusions reached are valid and well founded. A detailed study of the whole dictionary would probably not change her conclusions appreciably. Dr. Smalley deserves praise for an arduous task well accomplished, the result of which will be very useful in the history and study of lexicography.

WILLIAM S. WOODS

Tulane University

*Joseph Quincy Adams: Memorial Studies.* Edited by JAMES G. McMANAWAY, GILES E. DAWSON, and EDWIN E. WILLOUGHBY. Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948. Pp. x + 808. \$10.00.

In a warm, frank portrait, Lane Cooper remarks that Joseph Quincy Adams built an "exhaustive card-index of persons and things (with dates and hints of interrelations) in the realm of Elizabethan and Jacobean scholarship." That is the kind of scholarship which is most fully, and appropriately, represented in this memorial volume. There are admirably skillful discussions of dating, text, authorship, sources and parallels, staging and stage history by such authorities as Maxwell, Bentley, Hinman, G. B. Harrison, Bowers, Stone, Reynolds, J. C. Adams, Baldwin, Elson, Black, Law, and Parrott. There are general bibliographical descriptions by Lievsay, Jackson, T. P. Harrison, Kocher, Strathman, Bond, Bühler, C. T. and Ruth Prouty, Chew, Williams, and others. It is evident,

however, that some of these historical scholars were not ready with essays on subjects of very great importance when the request came for contributions. The reader begins to feel that a Folger "treasure" is too often any book or manuscript that has not been previously described. Stricter editing would have improved the volume.

A majority of the essays in literary criticism are properly on Shakespeare. Craig has some suggestive remarks about Shakespeare's growing control over rhetoric and declamation in the history plays. Price shows the usefulness of seemingly episodic scenes in symbolizing major themes and issues. It may be, as Spargo suggests, that the original audience associated the knocking at the gate in *Macbeth* with the knocking of searchers for the dead during the plague of 1603 and therefore understood it to be an omen of death, but that does not exhaust its meaning in the play nor explain its effectiveness for later audiences. L. B. Campbell, assuming soundly that no amount of extra-literary annotation can tell us how to interpret a character in a play, proceeds to show that within the play Polonius is an ignoble busybody, that his knowledge of Elizabethan wisdom literature does not make him a wise man, and that his position at court and Claudius' dependence on him for information are not so much proof of his ability as they are a clue to the King's moral predicament. Stoll, in "Another *Othello* Too Modern," disposes of Sedgewick's contention that the play is about a risky matrimonial venture, and has some good things on *optique du théâtre*. Farnham relates Lear's fool, the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*, and Falstaff to instances of the medieval grotesque, and demonstrates that this kind of historical study can, when properly handled, lead to illuminating rather than to oversimplified literary interpretations. In "Shakespeare and the New Critics," O. J. Campbell corrects some details in explications of *Macbeth* and *Measure for Measure* by Brooks and Traversi, and asserts that Shakespearean imagery cannot be accurately interpreted by critical theories which derive from the metaphysicals and resemble those of the St. Louis Hegelians. One may feel that the opposing of "New" and "Old" critics raises false issues and is an unrewarding approach to the serious problem of imagery.

The many virtues of this volume make it an impressive memorial; its limitations suggest that the Folger might now begin to sponsor critical and scholarly projects of wider range and more central importance.

LEONARD F. DEAN

University of Connecticut

*Philosophic Words: A Study of Style and Meaning in the Rambler and Dictionary of Samuel Johnson.* By W. K. WIMSATT, JR. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. xvii + 167. \$3.75.

Recently William Empson's influential *Seven Types of Ambiguity* has been reissued. In his latest book, Professor Wimsatt calls our attention to the seven kinds of meaning which Johnson names in his *Plan of an English Dictionary*. Here is a difference in mental climates. The Great Lexicographer tried to set up for his century what words had done, could do, or should do. Our age realizes what words cannot do; we know that words strain, crack, break, "slip, slide, perish, Decay with imprecision, will not stay in place." This new awareness has focused the best modern criticism on such key terms as irony, drama, indirection, symbol, music, ambiguity, complexity, attitude, tone, and overtone. Toward one

extreme it has led to the relativism of I. A. Richards: that the meaning of a word may be determined only by its particular context; toward the other extreme it has led to the scientific absolutism of statistical stylistics, logical positivism, and the semasiology that would replace actual language with a science of signs.

Professor Wimsatt is aware of the new developments. Elsewhere he has written illuminatingly on the "concrete universal," on the "affective fallacy," and on the "intentional fallacy." He alludes to this last idea in the preface to the present volume—paradoxically, since if we accept his argument, we will never bother to read a preface. In the ensuing pages, he tells us, he intends to interweave biography, linguistic history, and stylistic and rhetoric. A difficult subject, but actually rendered easier by the intellectual solidity of Doctor Johnson whom Wimsatt knows so well. This volume, for instance, develops and expands several pages in his earlier *Prose Style of Samuel Johnson*, and in turn proliferates specialized articles published in the scholarly quarterlies. Debatable and tenuous materials are clearly organized; the argument is stated unmistakably and is illustrated by ample evidence well marshalled.

The aim of the study is to show the effects of words upon style. The "philosophic words" of the title refer, quite precisely, to those "pertaining to, or used in the study of, natural philosophy, or some branch of physical science." "Scientific" and "philosophic" are therefore here interchangeable except for differing overtones of experimental and physical origins, or of dignity of diction.

Johnson, who was always in danger of singeing his wig or blowing himself skywards with his chemical experiments, is here shown making himself into a natural philosopher by gluttonous reading, for dictionary illustrations, of Bacon, Browne, Arbuthnot, Newton, Boyle, Glanvil, Locke, Watts, and a dozen others. Insensibly he acquired a vocabulary specifically designed for the accurate description of motion and rest, cause and effect, quantity and degree, likeness and difference, substance and accident. "By their very removal from the ordinary, the Latin words suggest the principles of things—a reason or an explanation." "The words were impressive and difficult, because Latin, and yet fairly easy when translated, because of the generic easiness of scientific ideas and the relative nearness of science in that era of life."

But this class of words Johnson did not add to his personal style like a mustard plaster. Wimsatt recognizes that Johnson is in essence a Doctor of human manners; throughout *The Rambler*, Johnson assimilates a wide assortment of scientific ideas, in various metaphoric ways, to moral and psychological themes. The metaphor between spirit and matter, the "more complicated and subtilized description of the inner in terms suggestive of the outer," "was, in fact, one of the great metaphors of the English language during the period when most of the sources of the Dictionary were written." Nature and the scientific processes become, therefore, analogues of the specific human nature on which his attention is focused.

One of the favorite opening patterns of a *Rambler* essay, Wimsatt remarks as a corollary, becomes a philosopher's version, as it were, of epic simile. "A formal statement of some melancholy physiological principle, some amplification of the theme of man's corruptibility and moribundity, serves the purpose of analogue in an elaborate social or moral application and diffuses a sad color of decay through larger structures of ideas."

Johnson makes, then, his metaphoric transfers, from physics to psychology, for his own original purposes. "When common words were less pleasing to the

ear," he purrs, "or less distinct in their signification, I have familiarized the terms of philosophy, by applying them to popular ideas." In the section on "Corpuscular Epistemology" Wimsatt makes clear how the metaphysical foundations beneath the thought of Galileo, Newton, Descartes, and preëminently Locke, led in Johnson to "the most concentrated use in English literature of mechanical imagery turned inward to the analysis of the soul"—for mechanical science and philosophy made such metaphors seem natural and final in their "abstraction, simplification, and systematization of the world."

Johnson, of course, was too comprehensive a man not to realize the dangers of macrocosmography. He satirizes pedantic or fanatic science; his *Hypertatus* (who lives in a garret in "the tenuity of a defecated air," high above the city streets) meditates a treatise on "barometrical pneumatology"—the science of the soul in terms of atmospheric pressure. But Johnson himself achieves seriously "the broader treatise in metaphoric psychology." When we sense in Johnson's style what Boswell calls his "union of perspicuity and splendour," we experience what Wimsatt has proved conclusively: his special use of the high and withdrawn vocabulary of seventeenth-century science, where the diction, even when employed without technical accuracy, conveyed the tone of the philosophy. In the universe of analogy within which Johnson moves, "he is continually metaphoric and hence abstract and generic on a grand scale." Though the conclusion which I have italicized is superficially a paradox for most imaginative writing, Wimsatt demonstrates it incontrovertibly.

This book, small in scope and wide in implication, belongs in the line of Lovejoy and Nicolson. This review is largely an adscititious tessellation of abstractions from Wimsatt, reticulated or decussated with a few connectives of my own. There is no need to comment when an intention has been successfully achieved. In spite of Wimsatt's "intentional fallacy," what an author plans to do and what he accomplishes occasionally, coincide. And when they do, as in this volume, the result nevertheless may be considered a work of art.

DONALD A. STAUFFER

Princeton University

*Wordsworth's View of Nature and Its Ethical Consequences.* By NORMAN LACEY. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. viii + 128. \$2.00.

Mr. Lacey's evaluation of Wordsworth's view of Nature reminds one of comments made in recent years by the so-called neo-humanists, followers of Babbitt and More, except that he leans further than some of these critics toward theological orthodoxy. Mr. Lacey has some interesting things to say, and it is to be regretted that he has said them so briefly, offering his readers, as he does, a number of rather abrupt conclusions. He finds Wordsworth's moral precepts uncertain and feels that they lack any clearly defined authority, besides showing too little respect for the value of a traditional, Christian discipline. Wordsworth's didacticism is found to conflict with the genuine inspiration arising from his "wise passiveness," while on the other hand the poet's suspicion of analytical intelligence obscures the conceptual content of his message. These conflicting tendencies, combined with a certain vagueness of expression, are said to undermine Wordsworth's philosophy and distort the intuitive insight, which, Mr.



Lacey recognizes, Wordsworth sometimes achieved. Again we are told that Wordsworth's ambiguous employment of the word *Nature* allows him to confuse the concept of the *Creator* with that of the *created*. This withholds Wordsworth from embracing a philosophy of personal theism, which would have done much toward overcoming the spiritual and intellectual confusion that so distracted his Victorian successors. Actually, Mr. Lacey insists, Wordsworth added to this confusion; and his later efforts to preserve or to recall his youthful attitude toward Nature constitute a source of Victorian sentimentality and of the deliberate solemnity of Victorian feeling.

Wordsworth's attitude toward Nature is described as an unnatural one at best, lacking the direct and practical sympathy of the hunter and the husbandman. Here I feel that the grave limitations of Mr. Lacey's work are discernible. He fails to see that the origin and meaning of Wordsworth's love of Nature is primarily aesthetic, that it is a love of those beautiful things which, unlike *objets d'art*, unite to encompass the field of our awareness and enjoyment. Beauty thus appears, in its concrete immediacy, as a "living presence of the earth." Wordsworth's exploration of the character of our immediate enjoyment of *things* and of their togetherness in Nature, anticipates the more adventurous philosophies of our own century, especially that of the late A. N. Whitehead, whose brilliant comment on Wordsworth in *Science and the Modern World* should not be ignored. Here at last Wordsworth is understood as no Victorian was able to understand him.

That this point of view has its significant consequences for ethics and religion—that it opens for us a new philosophy of value—lies quite beyond the scope of neo-humanist criticism. After all, despite his evident dislike of Victorian sentimentality, Mr. Lacey is offering us a belated Victorian comment on Wordsworth. He is closer, certainly, to Matthew Arnold than to Whitehead.

NEWTON P. STALLKNECHT

Indiana University

*Matthew Arnold: A Study in Conflict.* By EDWARD K. BROWN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 224. \$3.00.

This is the second especially noteworthy book on Arnold by Professor Brown. The first was *Studies in the Text of Matthew Arnold's Prose Works* (Paris, 1935). Here he considers one phase of Arnold—the inner conflict between his desire to use disinterestedness and his desire to "speak with the naked intensity of interestedness" (p. 23). Arnold stated in 1864: "English criticism should clearly discern what rule for its course, in order to avail itself of the field now opening to it, and to produce fruit for the future, it ought to take. The rule may be summed up—*disinterestedness*." Mr. Brown contends (pp. 19-20) that Arnold by "disinterestedness" sometimes means one's *strategy* of writing with an innocent appearance of generality in his comments, and sometimes one's attitude toward his subject, one's *disposition* to keep "out of the region of immediate practice."

Arnold's work has long been justifiably accused by many of not always observing his own standards. With enlightening interpretations Mr. Brown traces Arnold's conflict, and finally summarizes (p. 181): "In him the struggle

begins early; it rises in an uneven intensity, creating crises large and small the entire length of his career; there are moments in which it abates astonishingly and moments in which it is wholly suspended, with happy result; and the conflict is unsettled at the very end." Arnold is repeatedly shown as concerned "to stimulate the better humanity" in people (pp. 79, 84, 95, 135). Thus his purposes were twofold: to "get at" the public and to be an artist. Now and again he consciously rejected disinterestedness in order to help the people act, in a time of crisis (pp. 115, 150, 156, 165, 172). The book conveys vivid impressions of an Arnold not always serene but sometimes impulsive and humanly in error.

The excellent notes, often highly revealing, deserve to have been printed as footnotes. The brief "Terminal Note" is somewhat unsatisfying: the headings for pages 181, 183, 185, should read something like "Disinterestedness and Action" (cf. p. 181, line 15); at times its expression seems not closely accurate (e.g., p. 182, line 23—"lightheartedly"?), at times not sufficiently comprehensive; and the emphasis upon Carlyle's pronouncements on Governor Eyre is overly heavy, for, to use Mr. Brown's own words, "Nowhere in Arnold is there a statement comparable" to them.

The difficult and worthwhile task of tracing Arnold's inner conflict has been shrewdly and illuminatingly achieved, so much so that we regret that Mr. Brown did not see fit to include comment on some additional works even though this is not necessary for the support of his thesis (e.g., "Literature and Science," "Dover Beach," "The Last Word"). The book is an important contribution to our knowledge of an important man of letters. Much welcome information is here presented about the meaning of Arnold's writings and about Arnold's personality; and it is probable that if Mr. Arnold were faced today with this revelation of his not infrequent departures from pure artistry he would, generally speaking, not apologize, for "the artist is not the whole of man," as Mr. Brown reminds us, and "excursions into practical criticism are always creditable to the artist as citizen."

WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN

University of Southern California

*Essays and Sketches.* By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. Edited in three volumes with prefaces and introductions by CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD. New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1948. Vol. I, pp. xviii + 382; Vol. II, pp. xvi + 368; Vol. III, pp. xvi + 381. \$3.50 each.

*Sermons and Discourses.* By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. Edited in two volumes with prefaces and introductions by CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD. New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1949. Vol. I (1825-39), pp. xviii + 348; Vol. II (1839-57), pp. xvii + 382. \$3.50 each.

*An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. Edited with a preface and introduction by CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD, and an appendix on Newman's textual changes by OTTIS IVAN SCHREIBER. New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1949. Pp. xl + 456. \$3.50.

With these books the new edition of Newman's work has reached its ninth and last volume, following the earlier publication of *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, *A Grammar of Assent*, and *The Idea of a University*. Because of the untimely

death of Professor Harrold, earlier plans for the publication of other volumes have been abandoned, at least for the present. It is fortunate that the essays, the sermons, and the *Development* have now been added to the list.

Both the *Essays and Sketches* and the *Sermons and Discourses* help to reveal two essential notes of Newman's character and mind. It is clear, first of all, that Newman's wide range of interest and knowledge was always directed by strong personal concerns, and it is equally clear that, while never merely eclectic or dilettante, Newman's mind was always changing, seeking a fuller view, reaching for completeness. These two characteristics, perhaps more than anything else, may help to explain why he still retains a challenging interest even for readers who share none of his opinions and beliefs. Beneath all the severe, logical play of intellect, the reader can find the man with his restless curiosity, his special and personal motives, and a style that was particularly adapted, by its supple complexity, to Newman's general habit of elaborate, tireless searching. In general arrangement these new volumes are admirably designed to reveal this unique and personal development of Newman's mind.

The first volume of *Essays and Sketches* begins with the "Personal and Literary Character of Cicero" (1824) and the third volume ends with "An Internal Argument for Christianity" (1866). There is only one deviation from the chronological order, at the beginning of the third volume, and this exception, following Newman's own arrangement in the *Historical Sketches*, and dictated by the subject matter itself, will not disturb the general design in any serious way. The general sequence of *Essays and Sketches* readily reveals the growth and enlargement of Newman's mind.

Some readers may wonder why "Medieval Oxford" must give place here to such early literary excursions as the essay on Cicero and the essay on Aristotle's *Poetics*. If Newman's charming sketch of early Oxford is a loss, there is, on the other hand, no reason for begrudging room for these examples of Newman's literary criticism. The essay on Cicero is invaluable for the student of Newman's style, providing, as it does, Newman's analysis of just those qualities of amplitude and richness in his Latin master which reappear, with distinct modifications, as special traits of Newman's mind and style. And the comparatively early essay on Aristotle's *Poetics*, by its errors and perversities of judgment, no less than by its boldness and originality, reveals the peculiarly British temper of Newman's mind. For all the cosmopolitanism and catholicity that marked his later religious convictions, his literary judgment was directed from the beginning by a good deal of the insularity and prejudice that distinguishes the individual Englishman. Unlike Arnold, his contemporary, in his literary tastes Newman tended to be a pretty good Britisher, not a Greek, and this point is fairly important in assessing Newman's accomplishments, and especially important in measuring the painful difficulties that were involved in his spiritual odyssey. No serious quarrel can be raised with the editor for including either the Cicero or the Aristotle essay, even though other later and perhaps more mature pieces are omitted, since these two essays are among the few adventures into the general field of literary criticism which Newman has left, and particularly because they both serve well to illustrate special elements in the very personal and individual character of Newman's mind. If these two essays lack some of the deeper and surer sense of history and the more mature qualities of wit and urbanity which appeared in some of Newman's later work, these qualities can be found elsewhere in these volumes: in "The Church of the Fathers" and

"The Last Years of St. Chrysostom," where we find the great figures of the early Church firmly and clearly sketched with the personal devotion which Newman felt for his subject; and in "The Tamworth Reading Room," one of the most representative of Newman's works because it displays, in a sustained way, all the urbane wit and rhetoric of which he was by temperament and training such a consummate master. Taken together, then, these three volumes of *Essays and Sketches*, in spite of minor omissions, do reveal the personal and restless growth of Newman's mind.

In the selection and arrangement of the fifty-three sermons gathered in the two volumes of *Sermons and Discourses*, Harrold has cut across the broad topical lines of division followed in the earlier editions, to provide a consistent chronological sequence. The result is a representative cross-section of Newman's homiletic work that illustrates most of his significant religious preoccupations from 1825 till 1857—from his Anglican "Secret Faults" to his Catholic "Omnipotence in Bonds." Because many of his sermons were occasional, these volumes do not serve so well as the *Essays and Sketches* to document the development of Newman's religious convictions. The informed reader, however, will discover much of Newman's tireless, personal search for religious truth reflected in the sermons, and he will find, even in the earliest sermons, rather clear anticipations of later developments and discoveries. "The Inward Witness to the Truth of the Gospel" (1825) suggests early Anglican presuppositions which were to materialize long afterward, in 1870, in *The Grammar of Assent*, and particularly in Newman's conception of the "illative sense." "Religion a Weariness to the Natural Man" (1828) and "The Usurpations of Reason" (1831) foreshadow some of the distinctions elaborated so delicately and subtly, with full and final meaning, in *The Idea of a University*. But is it in those rather rare moments when the calm, dispassionate tone of Newman's homiletic manner is broken that the intense and dramatic story of Newman's highly personal religious experience is discovered—in his last Anglican sermon, "The Parting of Friends" (1843), a masterpiece of "eloquent reticence," and in "The Second Spring" (1852), which still reads, even for the general reader, like an inspired dream, reflecting the fresh strength of the convert's faith with all of Newman's rhetorical mastery.

Though they are the product of a rather severe process of selection, the two volumes of sermons preserve a representative body of Newman's homiletic work, arranged in an order that reveals the development of his religious attitudes and convictions more readily than was true of the earlier editions. For this reason both the general reader and the special student will find this new edition of the sermons convenient and interesting. Read with a little sympathy, and enough historical imagination to recreate Newman's position in his time, the sermons serve indispensably in filling out the portrait of the man. Besides, hardly anything else can serve so well to illustrate his delicate and sensitive rhetorical skill.

Despite omissions with which the special student of Newman may raise minor quarrels, these new editions of *Essays and Sketches* and *Sermons and Discourses* provide all that is essential for assessing the wide range and variety of Newman's religious and intellectual interests during the years of his growth and prime. The arrangement of the materials is admirably calculated to reveal two traits in the man which, perhaps above all others, continue to attract and challenge readers: his highly personal approach to all problems, and his restless, vital habit of growth, a habit which is nowhere displayed more clearly than in the extremely rich and copious revision made by Newman in his seventy-seventh

year, of a book which originally came from the press in his middle forties—his *Development of Christian Doctrine*.

On this book, more than on any other, Newman lavished painstaking and, in places, almost fastidious care. All of his textual changes are listed and classified in an extremely helpful appendix to the new addition compiled by Ottis Schreiber. This appendix supplies full documentation of a fact that was already known in a general way—that between its first appearance in 1845, the year of his conversion, and the final edition in 1887, Newman gave the book an elaborate revision, radically rearranging much of the material, carefully qualifying, clarifying, and refining even the smallest details of expression. This was the great labor of his later years, prompted evidently by a strong determination to leave behind him a most precise statement of the theme which had done most to explain for him the historic fact of Christianity and illumine the meaning and purpose of his own life. Because the Church was for him a vital, organic reality nourished by the life-blood of doctrine, he came to see that this doctrine could not remain static, but must develop by a rigorous and fecund law of growth which, in all its later proliferations, must remain consistent with its seminal beginnings, with what was implicit in the Church's deposit of faith from the outset. Apparently this concept of the Church and her doctrine never ceased to rejoice Newman's spirit. That is why, perhaps, the final edition of this extremely complex book is marked, after all the years of detailed and tedious revision, by remarkable lucidity, and by a great deal of easy, confident eloquence. It is not surprising that *The Development of Christian Doctrine*, expressing, as it does, Newman's deeply personal and joyous theme, "carries with deceptive grade," as Harrold says, "a heavy load of erudition."

It is disappointing for the special student of Newman to learn that with this book the new edition has reached its final volume, at least for the present. Most of the important works, however, are now available. Upon these volumes Professor Harrold's reputation as a sympathetic, competent editor can safely rest.

LEO L. WARD

*University of Notre Dame*

*An Outline-History of German Literature.* By WERNER P. FRIEDERICH, with the Collaboration of PHILIP A. SHELLEY and OSKAR SEIDLIN. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1948. Pp. vi + 326. \$1.50.

The present book is a valuable addition to the well-known College Outline Series. The *Outline-History* was written with a twofold purpose in mind: "to serve both as an introduction to German literature for beginners and as a quick reference manual for more advanced students."

A very readable history of German literature has been condensed into 260 pages of text. "General Observations" and "Historical Background" set off the chapters on literature against the cultural and political trends of their time. The Swiss background of the author lends to his discussions of political and historical events a dispassionate and refreshingly impartial tone. With his interest in comparative literature, he did not limit himself to the usual Italian, French, and English writers for outside influences but encompassed the whole of Western civilization, where necessary. He likewise stresses the influence of German authors, especially the Romanticists, upon foreign writers. Thus even the beginner will see German literature as an organic part of a greater unit.

The literary productions are not merely enumerated, but their themes and problems are stated as well. The greatest weakness of short histories of litera-

ture, the catalog-like reading of names and titles, has been avoided. At times, a short summary of the major literary productions is included. In spite of its condensed form, the *Outline-History* makes interesting reading material.

German literature up to the period of Romanticism is discussed in chapters varying in length from six pages for "Old High German" to nineteen pages for "Literature from 1300-1600." With the discussion of "Romanticism" the length increases to 33 pages, grows to 41 pages in "Realism," and reaches 77 pages in "Contemporary Literature." The nineteenth and twentieth centuries account for more than half the book. In view of the large number of modern German works in English translation, the author felt justified in devoting so much space to the modern period "leaving the task of unavoidable eliminations to later generations." College teachers and students alike, I believe, will welcome the large selection in the modern period, which includes the year 1947. Equal emphasis on the older literature could hardly be justified since the text is intended for college students and not for graduates.

In the treatment of the Classical Period of German literature one might wish for a more extensive discussion of Goethe's life and works. It is doubtful, however, that this could have been accomplished without onesidedness. The present arrangement avoids the impression given in many histories of German literature that after Goethe only works of minor importance were produced. The later isolation of Goethe and Schiller from the prevailing trend in literature is pointed out as well as the literary continuity between Storm and Stress and Romanticism.

At the end of each chapter is a list of English translations of the works discussed. *The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, by Kuno Francke, available in most college libraries, is frequently referred to. Like-wise translations of individual authors are mentioned which, in the case of contemporary German literature, amounts to 80 authors with more than 260 works.

A chronological table of historical and literary events in Germany and other European countries is followed by a well-documented bibliography (33 pages with more than 1,000 entries), and an alphabetical index, mainly of authors.

Professor Friederich and his associates have absolved themselves well of a difficult task. The *Outline-History* can profitably be used for a beginner's introduction to German literature, an inexpensive reference manual for advanced students, and for the German part of an introductory survey course in comparative literature.

WILLIAM F. ROERTGEN

University of Illinois

*Ricarda Huch's "Weltanschauung" as Expressed in Her Philosophical Works and in Her Novels.* By AUDREY FLANDREAU. A dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948. Pp. 212.

The author seeks "to prove the close inner relation" which exists between Ricarda Huch's earlier novelistic works and her later philosophical writings and thus "to establish the close inner unity of Ricarda Huch's work" (p. 1). This unity needs proof because Eva Gillischewski, in her book *Das Schicksalsproblem bei Ricarda Huch im Zusammenhang ihrer Weltanschauung* (Berlin, 1925), sees "a basic discrepancy between the *Weltanschauung* of the young artist Huch and that of the author of such works as *Luthers Glaube* and *Der Sinn der Heiligen Schrift*" (p. 1). Miss Flandreau's thesis is that the "idealistic basis remains



the same" and that the philosophical writings have to be interpreted as a "clarification and a confirmation of that *Weltanschauung* which underlies the artistic works."

After having taken issue with some of E. Gillischewski's assertions and at the same time also registering her disagreement with a number of statements in Gertrud Grote's *Die Erzählungskunst Ricarda Huchs und ihr Verhältnis zur Erzählungskunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1931), Chapter I (Introduction), Miss Flandreau proceeds to analyze Ricarda Huch's ideology in Chapter II, based on a selected list of Frau Ricarda's theoretical writings. She then applies her findings to ascertain the ideological content in Ricarda Huch's novelistic works (Chapters III-V) and historical novels (Chapter VI). Chapter VIII (Conclusion) summarizes the results of her study. The following novels are analyzed in detail: *Erinnerungen von Ludolf Ursleu dem Jüngeren* (1893); *Aus der Triumphgasse* (1902); *Michael Unger* (1903); *Von den Königen und der Krone* (1904); *Der letzte Sommer* (1910); *Der Fall Deruga* (1917). Historical novels treated include *Die Geschichten von Garibaldi* (1906-1907), *Der große Krieg in Deutschland* (1912-1914), and *Das Leben des Grafen Federigo Confalonieri* (1910).

Ricarda Huch's *Weltanschauung*, according to Miss Flandreau's analysis, evolves around the concept of the ideal man, called "genius." A genius is one who has reached a complete balance between the *Ich* and the *Nicht-Ich*, brought about by the forces of the heart, which is identical with the idea of love. "Genius . . . implies a perfect harmony between consciousness of self and consciousness of God. . . . This harmony in turn impels the individual by means of his own will and heart to imitate the will of God, to break the fetters of his own being and project himself into other beings so that the *Nicht-Ich* becomes part of his own *Ich*" (p. 17). But man can never fully attain and even less maintain this ideal state of harmony. He can realize it only approximately and for a limited time. Christ was the only genius in the strict sense of Ricarda Huch's definition (Ricarda Huch, *Vom Wesen des Menschen; Natur und Geist*, 4th ed. [Heidelberg, 1922], pp. 54-56, 61). "Einen ganz vollendeten Menschen kann es nicht geben . . . denn Vollendetsein heißt alles Unbewußte in Bewußtsein verwandelt haben" (*op. cit.*, p. 23), or, in other words, the perfect man would have completely assimilated the *Nicht-Ich* to his *Ich*. The individuals we ordinarily call a genius are those persons "who in fleeting moments experience this harmony and who struggle consciously throughout life to make of it a lasting experience" (p. 18). The spiritual history of a person, then, is the history of his failures. He may approach the ideal harmony more or less closely, the heroes of history more, the ordinary person less, but both groups remain doomed to failure.

To prove her thesis of the essential unity of Ricarda Huch's life-work the author exposes the principal characters, and many of the secondary ones, to the same kind of analytical examination: to what degree have they approximated a harmonious balance between *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich* (also often called *Umwelt*)? The picture of Ricarda Huch which thus emerges is certainly unified, but also somewhat monotonous, although, I hasten to add, the author brings out clearly the great variations which the basic theme assumes in Ricarda Huch's work, both in variety of characters as well as in artistic approach. It may well be that Eva Gillischewski has exaggerated the contrast between Ricarda Huch's earlier works and the later ones, but what does not come out too clearly in Miss Flandreau's treatise is Ricarda Huch's evolution. The author does not deny that it exists, but, almost obsessed as she is with her basic thesis of unity, the Ricarda



Huch whom she puts before the reader is too static a figure. This reviewer finds himself more in agreement with the flexible conception of Ricarda Huch's evolution which Else Hoppe, *Ricarda Huch* (Hamburg, 1936), upholds. She sees in the first period a period of *Werden* and gives it the motto "Ein selbständiges Ganzes zu werden." In the writings of this first stage the *Lebensmensch*, who often lacks *Geist*, is contrasted with the *geistige Typ*, who often lacks *Natur*, both ending in skepticism. This view is not essentially different from that of Miss Flandreau. In the second period, characterized by the historical novels, Ricarda Huch seeks to overcome this skepticism (of her characters, not necessarily her own). In the heroes of the past she could find a more nearly satisfactory realization of the ideal. That is the motive which led Ricarda Huch to found her creative writing more than before upon history, combined perhaps also with a recession in her inventive powers. "In der Geschichte erstet der Mensch, den seine Zeitgenossen als Stückwerk erlebten, in der Herrlichkeit des Urbilds" (Ricarda Huch, *Entpersönlichung*, p. 153; cf. also *Monatshefte*, XXXVIII [1946], 215).

Miss Flandreau's zeal to see *Weltanschauung* everywhere compels her sometimes to force the facts to conform to her interpretation. She has to assume an "implied" meaning (pp. 100, 177, 178) or she offers an alternative interpretation of the attitude of a character, different from the one the character (i.e., the author) himself supplies (p. 63, n. 1). Similarly, she explains Confalonieri's reverting to political activity towards the end of his life with his finding "himself incapable of striving for the new ideal which he has envisaged in prison" and because "he has been unable to sustain the experience of God-consciousness in the form of active living." This interpretation is not supported by the text. She also gives undue proportion to the weaknesses of Garibaldi's character (p. 162), in disagreement with Ricarda Huch's own positive opinion of this historical figure elsewhere (*Der Sinn der Heiligen Schrift*, pp. 12, 26, 39; *Vom Wesen des Menschen*, pp. 39-40, where the restriction is made that he was an "antiker Mensch, von nicht hervorragender Persönlichkeit"). The very nature of the subject—a difficult one indeed for the analysis of any true *Dichter*—inclines the author to see in every character a symbol of Ricarda Huch's *Weltanschauung*. Thus Ricarda Huch appears more as a preacher-philosopher than as a creative artist in Miss Flandreau's treatise. She fails to see or prefers to deny (p. 82, n. 4) the tragic aspect in Ricarda Huch's vision of man.

While we find that this study overstresses the ideological unity at the expense of the concept of evolution (entirely compatible with a basic unity) in Ricarda Huch's work, we should like to emphasize at the same time that it offers a wealth of fine analytical observations on the characters, the structure, and the style of the works treated. The author explains convincingly the different functions of the episodes and descriptive passages, the nature of the various images, and analyzes the rhythmic pattern of the style. The reader, even if not entirely convinced by its basic thesis, will be amply rewarded by this stimulating study.

ARNOLD G. REICHENBERGER

University of Pennsylvania

*Novalis: Hymns to the Night*. Translated by MABEL COTTERELL. With an introduction and appreciation by AUGUST CLOSS. London: Phoenix Press, 1948. Pp. 59.

Novalis, since Carlyle's essay no stranger to the English-speaking world, has not fared well under the hands of his English translators. Especially the *Hymns to the Night* (as translated, for instance, by W. Hastie in 1888) came out as sweet vague prose which had lost much of Novalis' personality. The boldness of language, the terror, the spirituality, the intellectual naïveté, the magic associations, were largely sacrificed for an acceptable, innocuous romanticism.

This new translation follows the pattern of free verse where it has been established in the original hymns. In its cadence, its literalness and recreation of Novalis' tone Miss Cotterell's version is indeed a step forward. It is a serious attempt at fidelity, and is largely successful. Her interpretation as shown by her translation does not go astray. Sometimes, however, a cautious and weakening English word has been chosen for the bold German original: *sinnbegabt*, "gifted with feeling"; *das Irdische*, "Earth"; *die grause Larve*, "grim mask unkind"; *troztig fremd geworden*, "proudly estranged"; or in the passage: "(die Liebe wird) / Nur eine Nacht der Wonne / Ein ewiges Gedicht"—"Unending Night delights us, / Eternity's romance." Sometimes the essential childlike tone of Novalis' piety has been lost by conventional phrasing: "(wo) hohen Sinns, einfältiglich, / Noch mancher seinem Urbild glich" appears as "(when) Many of higher senses ripe / Resembled still their prototype."

The difficult *ottave rime* with their sudden break of rhythm have been rendered very skillfully. But the changing rhythm has not always been followed. When, after the short, almost staccato, verse describing the approaching hour of death, there is suddenly a shift to an epic quiescence in the description of suffering: "Hart rang er mit des alten Todes Schrecken, / Schwer lag der Druck der alten Welt auf ihm," Miss Cotterell (obscuring somewhat the strength of the repeated *alt*) continues in the preceding rhythm, thus lessening both the beauty and significance of these lines: "Hard wrestled he with the horrors / Of Ancient Death. / Heavy upon him lay / The weight of the Old World."

But most unfortunate is this translator's clinging to the prettifying semi-Biblical tone which has marred so many English translations (Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* has become absolutely unreadable in this process); all these "thou's" and "thy's" and "meseemeth's" and "doth's," "maiden" for *Mädchen*, "ardour sweet" for "sweet ardour," "days of yore" for *Vorzeit*, etc., transform a language which is almost entirely modern in its diction into an old-fashioned, less alive text. But it is probably demanding too much to expect a translator to make full use of modern English poetic diction which is, after all, still in the making.

Professor August Closs of Bristol University has given the book an "introduction and appreciation." Speaking of "the limpid ripple of his rhythmic prose," he says that "Novalis' writing possesses neither Hölderlin's tragic tension nor Schiller's divine pathos"; expresses the idea that "the ways of man are dark and enigmatical, those of genius unfathomable"; concludes that "the poet of these *Hymns to the Night* was neither an unheing Werther nor a rebellious Prometheus"; is reminded by Novalis' love for Sophie of "Marcel Proust's affection for Albertine"; realizes that "the poet's longing for death is

not 'romantically' and morbidly confused, but full of delicacy of feeling and self-possessed"; contrasts Hölderlin to Novalis to this effect: "Whilst Hölderlin in his *Hyperion* says: 'We are nothing, what we seek is everything,' for Novalis everything, even the most insignificant object on earth, became a source of poetic inspiration"; finds that "Young's *Night Thoughts* have a similar ring: Out of the depths of secret night flows all life," but emphasizes that Novalis' attitude to nature "is the opposite of D. H. Lawrence's belief in the 'natural' forces of the primitive man"; and sees "the real significance of Novalis' work" in the following terms:

Unfortunately, we learn little from history, and facts are certainly not the essential influences. Science and education, through political abuse and a barbaric lust for over-specialization, have often enough proved themselves equally bankrupt. The ultimate truths of existence cannot be solved through evolution, scientific analysis or the rivalries of intellectual ambition. The only hope of re-birth lies in a recognition of the spiritual realities of beauty and a reverence for the mystery of nature, creative activity, the totality of life, and last, not least, in a full understanding of the individual's right of freedom and responsibility towards society.

WERNER VORDTRIEDE

University of Wisconsin

Gottfried Keller. By HERMANN BOESCHENSTEIN. Bern: Paul Haupt Verlag, 1948. Pp. 178. Sw.Frs. 12.00.

With great modesty the author remarks in his preface that his monograph on Keller may not have anything new to offer. (I hope that he will forgive me for taking exception to this statement.) To be sure, the basic features of Keller's work and philosophy as interpreted by Professor Boeschenstein do not reveal any startling new aspects. Yet hardly ever has the consistent line of Keller's work been brought so clearly to light, hardly ever has the slow but steady formation and formulation of Keller's *Weltanschauung* been so clearly exposed. In a book which was kept within a very reasonable size, this makes for the exclusion of all "accidental" features, an exclusion which we may regret in view of the gay colorfulness of Keller's work, but which prevents the author from ever straying into the field of the merely anecdotal or the plainly irrelevant.

Boeschenstein dispenses to a large extent with the biographical approach. What he set out to do was to record the "Grundzüge des Lebens und Werkes," and this task he fulfills in an exemplary fashion. He recognizes as the truly essential drives behind Keller's work the cheerful susceptibility to earthly natural impulses, and a powerful feeling of responsibility through which these impulses are forever purified and kept under control. This is the special brand of Keller's humanism, indeed, a humanism of a very "democratic" nature since the individual is never allowed to break out of the confines of the body politic, while the body politic never falls into an unnatural dehumanizing calcification and bureaucratization. A pithy condensation of Keller's mature philosophy of life Boeschenstein finds in Logau's maxim:

Wie willst du weiße Lilien zu roten Rosen machen?  
Küß eine weiße Galathee, sie wird errötend lachen,

which Keller used as a motto and leitmotif of the *Sinngedicht* and which, by its synthesis of *Natur* and *Sitte* in the image of the "blushing laughter," strikes the

main key of "Dietegen," "Der Landvogt von Greifensee," and above all the second version of *Der grüne Heinrich*.

Especially in his excellent discussion of the "Schicksalsbuch," as Keller called his only great novel, or rather in the discussion of the principles guiding Keller at the revision of *Der grüne Heinrich*, Boeschstein clearly demonstrates the gradual and slow formulation of Keller's ultimate wisdom. It took Keller a long time until he found his way. The attraction of related possibilities of artistic expression, painting, and dramatic art, retarded his development toward his real destiny as a prose writer. But even for the prose writer there was a variety of courses which he could have followed. There was his tendency toward the satire ("Die drei gerechten Kammacher"), toward jejune didacticism ("Regel Amrein und ihr Jüngster"), there was, in young Keller, a world-view which precluded the reconciliation of *Natur* and *Sitte* (first version of *Der grüne Heinrich*, "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe"). It is a keen pleasure to follow Boeschstein's succinct argumentation which presents the interplay and interference of these tendencies until they all fuse into the establishment of the typical bourgeois *Sittlichkeit* of the great Swiss citizen and writer.

Since Boeschstein handles the *weltanschauliche* method of interpretation with such extraordinary skill and such remarkable results, it would be unfair to blame him for shortcomings which are inherent in this approach. It is incapable of establishing any aesthetic values and of passing any aesthetic judgments. Since the mature philosophy of life, Keller's typically civic humanism, counts most heavily, works of lesser distinction in which this humanism is most visibly realized (e.g., "Dietegen," "Der Landvogt von Greifensee") are treated with greater appreciation than some of the early masterpieces. (This seems to me true even in the case of "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe," although Boeschstein tries to give it its due.) The deficiency of the method becomes, however, glaringly obvious in the treatment of Keller's poetry. Whether Keller, for the very reasons that make him so dear to Professor Boeschstein and the present writer, was a poet at all, is open to question, although there is no denying his felicitous hand with some of his verse. To me it is beyond any question that his poem "Die Spinnerin," which Professor Boeschstein praises so highly because it exhibits clearly Keller's *weltanschauliche* position, is one of the most pitiful concoctions ever put on paper by a writer of great distinction. I am quite sure that at second thought Boeschstein could not help feeling how unintentionally comic the following lines are:

Wie durchdringt mich das Bewußtsein,  
Daß so ganz sein Glück ich werde,  
Und das Kleinod seiner Brust sein  
Und sein Himmel auf der Erde!

There is only a short step, if any at all, from here to Friederike Kempner and similar rhymesters.

It is equally understandable that for Professor Boeschstein, a Swiss by birth, the civic virtues which Keller taught and glorified through his writings, represent the highest moral value. But he should not be misled to mistake moral values for literary criteria. It is most unfortunate that on the last pages he confronts Keller with Goethe and Nietzsche, and extols the representative of civic virtue, great as he may be, at the expense of two true geniuses. For it might easily be that the "titanic recklessness" which goes like lightning through *Faust*,

that Goethe's "individualistic-aristocratic strands" which, as Professor Boeschstein frankly admits, "frighten" him, are the very subsoil, fertile, albeit fearful, on which genius grows.

OSKAR SEIDLIN

Ohio State University

*German Literature in British Magazines, 1750-1860.* By WALTER ROLOFF for 1750-1810, MORTON E. MIX for 1811-1835, and MARTHA NICOLAI for 1836-1860. Edited by BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN and A. R. HOHLFELD. With a Historical Foreword by A. R. HOHLFELD. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949. Pp. vi + 364. \$5.00.

The Foreword of this volume offers a survey of the work done, particularly by American scholars, in the field of Anglo-German literary and cultural relations until 1947-1948. B. Q. Morgan gives an account of how the British reception of German "schöne Literatur" is reflected in British magazines (and a few annuals!) which makes it possible quickly to determine what literature was known at a given time, when an author or literary school became seriously regarded or fell into oblivion, how much space was devoted to various literary figures, etc. From the dissertations of the three authors he has compiled the list of references which make up the larger part of the volume—essentially a list of separate magazine items primarily devoted to German literature (books received or reviewed; critical articles; parodies)—and indexed the German writers concerned. It is unfortunate that British writers appearing in the individual references are not indexed, since the study of comparative literature is above all one of mediators, but this is understandable in view of the immense labor which the editing of the manuscript and the typing of it for photolith reproduction demanded of Morgan. His tables showing fluctuations in interest in German literature only confirm what is already known from earlier studies. Since the number of total pages in the magazines covered is determinable, it should have been possible to reduce page totals to percentages of total magazine subject matter and so furnish new and perhaps significant statistical data. Certainly the authors of further studies of this type should obtain figures on page and reference totals for two or three other literatures—say Latin, French, and Italian before 1850, and French, Russian, and Scandinavian or Spanish after 1850—so that more meaningful comparisons could be made. On the basis of the data in this study, interested scholars can now make fruitful cross-section analyses of certain significant years and so establish, as has not yet been done, the importance of German thought and letters in the whole world-literary process.

STUART P. ATKINS

Harvard University

*The Alphabet: A Key to the History of Mankind.* By DAVID DIRINGER. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. Pp. 607. \$12.00.

Linguists and archeologists should be especially pleased with this new work on the history of alphabetic writing. The now outdated work of Taylor has here been superseded, not only by more up-to-date information, but also by a

far superior presentation. Dr. Diringer's work is, without a doubt, the best book of its kind in English today, for it answers three requirements which seem most desirable for adequate treatment of the subject: (1) it contains a great number of illustrations, photographs, and facsimiles; (2) it supplies a complete bibliography of the subject in general, of each related phase, and gives thorough and accurate references throughout the text; (3) it systematically and patiently deals with controversial points and issues, so that due credit is given to the work of other scientists. In addition to filling these basic requirements, Dr. Diringer presents his own clear, and very valuable, scientific views on the subject. A satisfactory index is appended.

The publishers are to be congratulated on having the courage to struggle with such a mass of printing details.

CARROLL E. REED

University of Washington

*Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin.* By OTTO JESPERSEN. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1947 (seventh impression); New York: Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. 448. \$4.50.

This famous work, already a linguistic classic though first published in 1922, was never revised during its author's lifetime, and is now issued again in its original form. I noticed three misprints and checked them against my copy of the reprint of 1928; they are there too (pp. 47, 264, 311). No doubt there are others which escaped me but ought not to escape one looking for misprints. The publishers are wise, of course, in leaving the book unrevised, but obvious misprints are another matter.

The book falls into four parts: history of linguistic science (pp. 17-99), the child (pp. 101-88), the individual and the world (pp. 189-301), and the development of language (pp. 303-442). In all four parts the author's approach is diachronic, though in Part II the time covered is only a few years. Jespersen conceives of language as one aspect of human behavior, something constantly changing, on the move, patterned indeed but not describable in strictly static or synchronic terms, and not to be abstracted from the historical stream of which it makes so important a part. The current emphasis on descriptive technics is a wholesome reaction against the excessive preoccupation with history so characteristic of the early days of linguistic science, but a rereading of Jespersen's great book makes one see how right the founders of linguistics were in putting the emphasis where they put it. Present fashions are well enough, but the linguists of the future will neglect diachronic study at their peril.

A book written in English by a foreigner might be expected to have a few mistakes in idiom. One finds surprisingly few in this book, but I have noted *earnestly* for *seriously* (p. 46), *occasional* for I hardly know what (p. 52), and a generic *the* which should have been left out (p. 278). Out-of-date terms are also rare, but *Zend* is repeatedly used for *Avestan* (e.g., pp. 39, 330). More frequent are terms of the author's invention, as *stump-words* (p. 169). I note, besides, terms like *Gothonic* and *Aryan* for the more usual *Germanic* and *Indo-European*, terms not invented but preferred by the author. True blemishes in the form of slips may also be found. I have noted a few. English *teat* does not answer

to German *sitze* (p. 158) but was taken from French; the true English cognate of *sitze* is the familiar but now substandard *tit*, OE *titt*. The Irish *derning* for *darning* is not a case of hypercorrectness (p. 294) if *darn* goes back to OE *dier-nan* "hide," as many etymologists believe. Indeed, the Irish form supports this etymology. The loss of a syllable in *England*, OE *Englaland*, is not due to haplology (p. 329), as the trisyllabic ME *Engeland* shows; the first *l* was lost by dissimilation, and, later, the *e* was lost by syncope. Sinologists would not agree that in Chinese "each word consists of one syllable" (p. 369). The word *dirk* "dagger" has nothing to do with the proper name *Dietrich* (p. 439). It was originally spelled *dork*, and its etymology is unknown.

Apart from slips, one finds things in the book with which one cannot agree. How could the *s*-plural of nouns remind the Danes of their own *r*-plural, whereas the *n*-plural had no such effect (p. 214)? The English had an *r*-plural in some words (e.g., *child*) and if the Danish plural had any influence it would presumably show itself in an extension of this English *r*-plural to other words, not in an extension of an *s*-plural! I am also very skeptical about the hypothesis that the rise of the Romanic languages was held back for centuries by the influence of Latin "in official life and in the schools" (p. 206; see also p. 260). Schools and officialdom did not have the power, in those days, to bring such a thing about. It took time, of course, for the differentiation of vulgar speech from official speech to work itself out, and still more time for vulgar speech to fall into regional dialects, but such a development could not be stifled from above. The universal compulsory education of our own day does tend to inhibit the splitting up of a language into dialects, but no such tool was available in classical antiquity. Yet for the most part the author's judgments stand the test of time wonderfully well. His book as a whole is so far from being "dated" that it still opens up realms hitherto unknown and not yet properly explored. After all these years Jespersen is still far ahead of our most up-to-date investigators. For instance, the following passage still sounds revolutionary:

It is usual to speak of English as being a mixture of native Old English ("Anglo-Saxon") and French, but as a matter of fact the French influence, powerful as it is in the vocabulary and patent as it is to the eyes of everybody, is superficial in comparison with the influence exercised in a much subtler way by the Scandinavian settlers in the north of England. The French influence is different in extent, but not in kind, from the French influence on German . . . ; it is perhaps best compared with the German influence on Danish in the Middle Ages. But the Scandinavian influence on English is of a different kind . . . (p. 212).

Many other equally stimulating and challenging utterances might be quoted, but I prefer to close by advising the reader to take the old book down from his shelves and read it over once more. And if he has never read it, the greater the feast in store for him.

KEMP MALONE

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Ivan Franko, *The Poet of Western Ukraine: Selected Poems*. Translated with a Biographical Introduction by PERCIVAL CUNDY. Edited by CLARENCE A. MANNING. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. Pp. xxiii + 265. \$4.50.

Apart from Russian itself, the most widely spoken Slavonic language is Ukrainian, the mother-tongue of a nation of forty-five millions spread out be-



tween the Carpathians and the Caucasus. Although the stream of Ukrainian national life may be traced back for over a thousand years, it has been forced underground for much of that period because of alien domination. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its literary tradition entered on its modern phase and developed into poetry and prose of undoubted power. In that more recent epoch one of the chief names is that of Ivan Franko (1856-1916), a poet, journalist, novelist, and scholar whose output is comparable in quantity to that of Lope de Vega.

A comprehensive selection of his best work in English translation has hitherto been lacking, but the gap has now been happily filled by a large and representative volume of his poetry, in the translation of the late Dr. Percival Cundy. The volume is edited with scholarly care by Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University. It includes a 96-page biographical sketch of Franko, prepared by Dr. Cundy, and a general preface by Professor Manning himself.

Dr. Cundy is a translator of great significance. Born in Manchester, England, in 1881, he lived in western Canada for some forty years and became intimately acquainted with the Ukrainian settlements there. His study of their language was on a sound philological basis, and during the time when he was a student of mine in Winnipeg he had already gathered on thousands of slips most of the materials for a large Ukrainian dictionary. His verse translations are made with scrupulous fidelity and care. His death in 1947 was a serious loss to Slavonic scholarship on this continent.

From the present volume, the English reader can comprehend the essential Franko. Here is the political radical, striving for fuller life for the Ukrainian peasant; here is the ardent nationalist, yearning after freedom for his people; here is the intellectual leader of his generation, toiling and suffering on their behalf. Whether the form be lyric, narrative, or philosophical, it is suffused with his master-passion, his passion for Ukrainian liberty.

Franko's three chief works, "The Death of Cain," "Ivan Vyshensky," and "Moses," are given here either in abridgment or in major part, and each embodies some of Franko's own inner struggle as a Ukrainian leader. To the traditional story of Cain he gives a new twist, supplying the outcast with a new message of philosophical truth before he meets his death at the hands of Lamech. In "Ivan Vyshensky" he presents the story of a Ukrainian saint and leader who spent his last years immured in a solitary cell on Mount Athos. In "Moses" he gives the background of his own experience throughout forty years of devoted toil on behalf of his people and voices the doubt with which he sometimes looks forward to their ultimate entry into the Promised Land of freedom and mature nationhood. On Mount Nebo he is assailed by the bitter questioning of Azazel, the evil spirit, and appeals to Jehovah for illumination:

But God kept silence. Nothing more  
Is heard than evil-boding sounds:  
Anon it is the serpent's hiss,  
And then the jackal's cry resounds.

The poem ends with a hint of ultimate triumph under Joshua, i.e., some Ukrainian leader later than himself.

WATSON KIRKCONNELL

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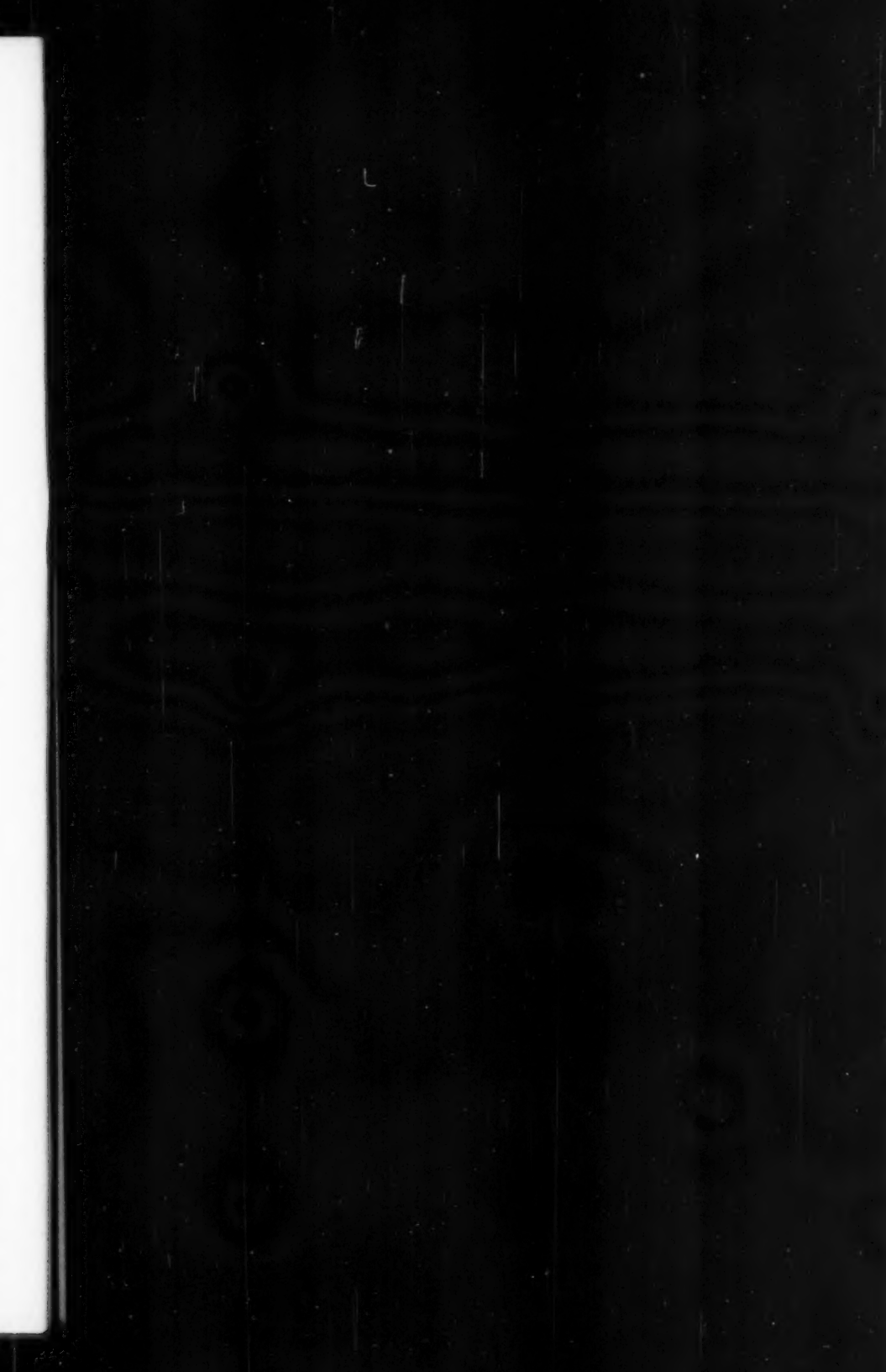
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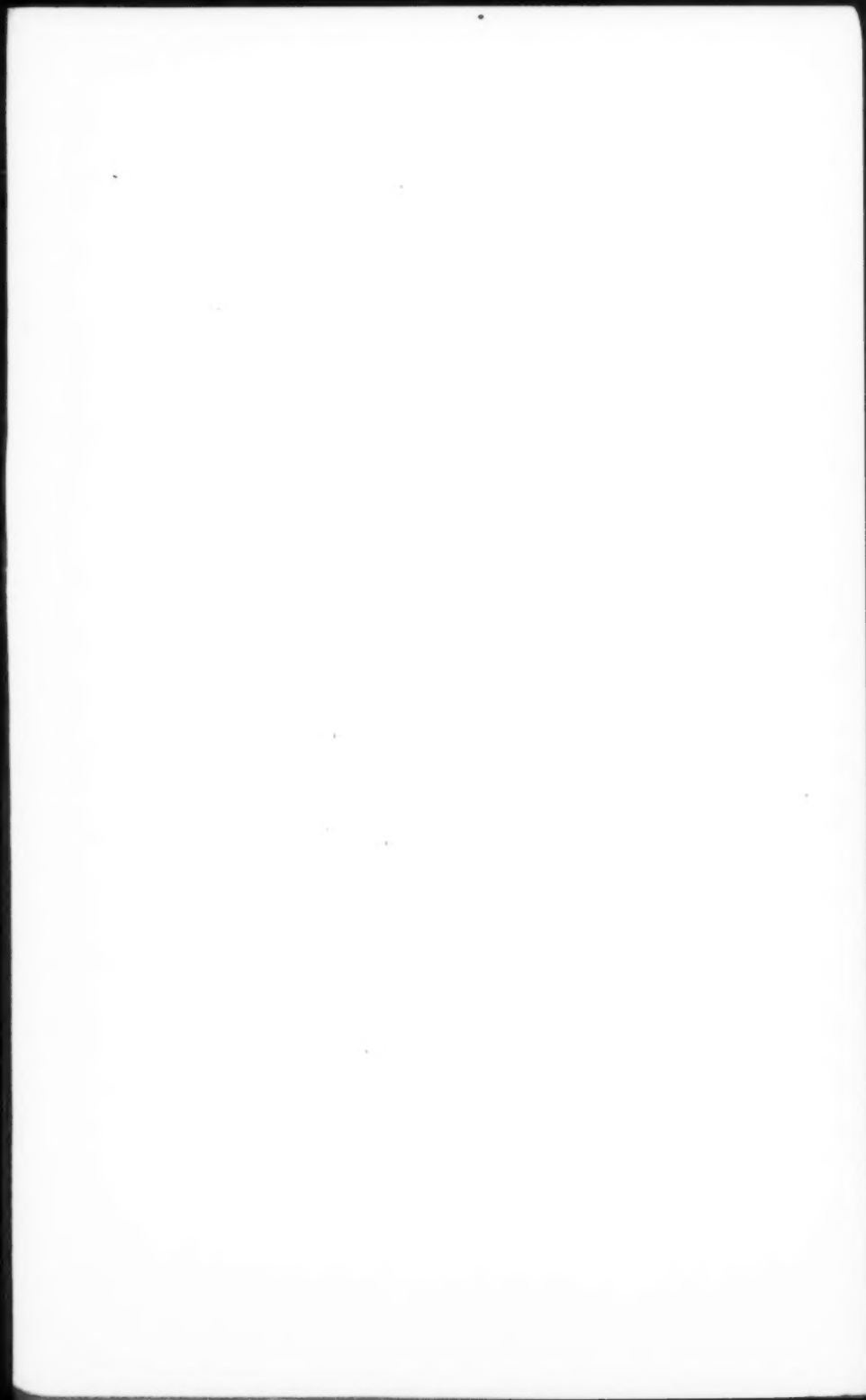
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